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ART. I.—1. *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee, with a Statistical Account of that Kingdom, and Geographical Notices of other Parts of the Interior of Africa.* By T. Edward Bowdich, Esq. Conductor. 1819.

2. *The African Committee.* By T. Edward Bowdich, Esq. Conductor of the Mission to Ashantee. 1819.

IF his sable majesty, Sai Tooto Quamina, 'King of Ashantee and its dependencies,' should ever be favoured with a sight of the goodly quarto which Mr. Bowdich has contrived to manufacture on the subject of his gold and his grandeur, his captains and his caboceers, he would certainly conclude, as the Congo negro did of Captain Tuckey's visit, that 'he come only to take walk and make book'—and a pretty large book, too, he might probably add, for so short a walk. Could he, however, read this bulky volume, we strongly suspect that he would complain, as his black brother of Dahomey did to Governor Abson,—that white men make books about black men, whose customs they do not understand, and put in them a great number of very silly stories.

The origin and the objects of the 'Mission to Ashantee' will best be understood by perusing Mr. Meridith's narrative of the irruption of these people into the country of the Fantees, and their daring attack on the town and fort of Annamaboe, which Mr. Bowdich has placed, like an Irish preface, or, as Mr. Plowden would call it, a 'postliminious preface,' at the end of his book. From this it appears that, in 1806, two chiefs of the Ashantee nation having rebelled, took refuge among the Fantees, our allies. The king pursued them; and finding that the Fantees had espoused their cause, overran the whole country, marched in triumph to the sea-coast, destroyed the town of Cormantin, and took possession of the Dutch fort at that place; he then proceeded to Annamaboe, where the Fantee army had taken shelter. A dreadful slaughter ensued, close under the walls of the English fort, in which it is supposed that not less than 8000 persons were put to the sword. The English had fired a few shots from the fort in the hope of deterring the Ashantees from entering the town; but with so little effect, that after the slaughter, they turned their arms against the fort itself, advancing to the very muzzles

muzzles of the guns. The strength of the garrison did not exceed thirty men, of whom five were officers; and this small number was speedily reduced; the governor, (Mr. White,) one of the officers, and four men being wounded, and two killed. They, however, repelled the assailants; and when the Ashantees attempted to burn down the gate, shot those who applied the fire from the ramparts. The next day a small reinforcement arrived from Cape Coast; and as the enemy was not disposed to renew the attack, a flag of truce was sent out, and the forbearance and *friendship* of the king purchased at the expense of giving up one of the rebel chiefs, who had sought protection under the walls of Cape Coast Castle;—an act which, we are told, (and we must take the author's word for it,) 'gave a favourable opinion of the British'!

The Ashantees remained quiet until the year 1811, when they again invaded the Fantees, and their forbearance was again purchased; and a third time in 1816, when thousands were butchered in cold blood, and as many dragged to the capital as victims to their inhuman superstitions. The Governor of Cape Coast Castle, being again obliged to purchase their retreat by the payment of a large sum of money, earnestly requested his superiors at home to authorize a mission to the King of Ashantee, 'to deprecate these repeated calamities, to conciliate so powerful a monarch, and to propitiate' (what is this?) 'an extension of commerce.' This request was immediately acceded to; and some valuable presents, together with a draft of instructions, were forwarded by the spring ship of 1817. Mr. James, the governor of Accra fort, was selected as the representative of the African Company, and Mr. Bowdich, a young writer just arrived, and Mr. Hutchinsson, also a writer, with Mr. Tedlie, assistant surgeon, were appointed to accompany him.

The mission left Cape Coast Castle with a proper number of bearers, Ashantee guides, and two native soldiers of the garrison, on the morning of the 22d April. In the course of fifteen miles, which brought them to Payntree's *croon* or village, they passed over a very beautiful country—the hills were covered with groves or clumps of trees of immense size, and the valleys with a profusion of pines, aloes and lilies, richly varied with palm, banana, plantain and guava trees. 'I never,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'saw soil so rich or vegetation so luxuriant.' Amidst all this luxuriance, however, the hand of the spoiler was but too visible in the numerous deserted villages, and the few wretched inhabitants who still clung to their ruins.

The village of Payntree was prettily situated on an open plain, surrounded by stately trees, and consisted of one broad and well



well 'cleaned' street of small huts, framed of bamboo and neatly thatched. The proprietor himself was attentive and obliging, and presented the strangers with fowls, yams and palm-wine. He had a field of corn (of what kind is not stated) of at least twenty acres. 'His dwelling was a square of four apartments, one for himself and the others for his stock and his slaves. The order, cleanliness and comfort,' says our traveller, 'surprized us; the sun had just set, and a cheerful fire on a clean hearth supported the evening meal. The old man was seated in his state chair, diverting himself with his children and younger wives—the elder one was looking on from the opposite apartment with happy indifference; it was the first scene of domestic comfort I had witnessed among the natives'—we regret to add, it was also the last.

The next twenty or thirty miles led through deep and almost impervious forests of the largest and loftiest trees, the fallen trunks of which presented frequent barriers to their progress, and increased their fatigues from the labour required to scale them. The climbing plants shot down their pliant arms like so many cables, and threaded each other in such a perplexity of twists that it was impossible to trace them in the general entanglement. 'The path, which was swampy, (says Mr. Bowdich,) frequently became trackless, and appeared to have been little used since the Ashantee invasion of 1807.—Several human skulls were scattered through this dark solitude, the relics of the butchery.'

On the last day of April, the party reached the banks of a stream called the Boosempra.

'Nothing, says our traveller, could be more beautiful; the bank on the south side was steep, and admitted but a narrow path; that on the north sloping; on which a small Fetish house, under the shade of a cachou tree, fixed the eye; whence it wandered over a rich variety of tint and foliage, in which light and shade were most happily blended: the small rocks stole through the herbage of the banks, and now and then ruffled the water: the doom trees towering in the shrubbery, waved to the most gentle air a rich foliage of dark green, mocking the finest touch of the pencil; the tamarind and smaller mimosas heightening its effect by their livelier tint, and the more piquant delicacy of their leaf: the cotton trees overtopped the whole, enwreathed in convolvuli, and several elegant little trees, unknown to me, rose in the background, intermixed with palms, and made the coup d'œil enchanting. The bright rays of the sun were sobered by the rich reflections of the water; and there was a mild beauty in the landscape, uncongenial to barbarism, which imposed the expectation of elegance and refinement. I attempted a sketch, but it was far beyond my rude pencil; the expression of the scene could only have been traced in the profile of

every tree; and it seemed to defy any touches, but those of a Claude or a Wilson, to depict the life of its beauty.—pp. 23, 24.

The reader will collect from this description, which is among the least tumid that the work affords, that the author has a singular propensity 'to talk in King Cambyzes' vein.' Indeed, so fond is he of flinging his garish colours over every object, that we are compelled, however unwillingly, to make considerable deductions in our mind from his statements before we proceed to investigate their value.

At the first Ashantee town, named Foámaunee, a venerable old man regaled the travellers with palm-wine and fruit; 'his manners,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'were very pleasing, and made it more painful to us to hear that his life was forfeited to some superstitious observances, and that he only waited the result of a petition to the king, to commiserate his infirmities, so far as to allow him to be executed at his own croon, and to be spared the fatigue of a journey to the capital: he conversed cheerfully with us, congratulated himself on seeing white men before he died, and spread his cloth over the log with an emotion of dignity rather than shame.—His head arrived at Coomassie the day after we had.'

The next town they halted at was Doompassie, 'the most industrious on the path; cloths, beads and pottery were manufacturing in all directions, and the blacksmiths' forges were always at work.' Eight miles beyond this a message met them from the king, appointing their public entry into Coomassie on the following Monday. During this journey to Coomassie, which is estimated at 146 miles, (or about 97 miles of direct distance,) the thermometer ranged from 76° to 91°, but was seldom above 80°.

Their entrance into the capital is thus described.

'We entered Coomassie at two o'clock, passing under a fetish, or sacrifice of a dead sheep, wrapped up in red silk, and suspended between two lofty poles. Upwards of 5000 people, the greater part warriors, met us with awful bursts of martial music, discordant only in its mixture; for horns, drums, rattles, and gong-gongs were all exerted with a zeal bordering on phrenzy, to subdue us by the first impression. The smoke which encircled us from the incessant discharges of musquetry confined our glimpses to the foreground; and we were halted whilst the captains performed their Pyrrhic dance, in the centre of a circle formed by their warriors; where a confusion of flags, English, Dutch, and Danish, were waved and flourished in all directions; the bearers plunging and springing from side to side, with a passion of enthusiasm only equalled by the captains, who followed them, discharging their shining blunderbusses so close, that the flags now and then were in a blaze: and emerging from the smoke with all the gesture and distortion of maniacs.'—pp. 31, 32.

Then

Then follows a very minute and circumstantial description of the war-captains, illustrated by a print of one of them in grand gala, which would make an admirable scare-crow. Moving onwards through crowds of people, they were perfectly astonished at the splendor of the several *caboccers*\* who passed by with their trains. 'The bands, principally composed of horns and flutes, trained to play in concert, seemed to soothe our hearing into its natural tone again by their wild melodies.' Melodies!—But there is no disputing about taste.—We doubt not that Mr. Bowdich, like Bottom, 'has a reasonable ear for the tongs and the bones':—but Bosman, who had often witnessed similar pageants, tells us that these melodious instruments, which 'soothed' Mr. Bowdich's ear 'into its natural tone,' sounded, 'for all the world, like a sow-gelder's horn'!

An inhuman spectacle now arrested their attention, which, it would seem, they were purposely stopped to notice. It was a victim whom the people were tormenting previously to the sacrifice. This miserable object (with whose sufferings we shall not afflict our readers) having passed in review before them, they were permitted to proceed towards the market-place. The scene that presented itself there must be described in Mr. Bowdich's own words.

'Our observations en passant had taught us to conceive a spectacle far exceeding our original expectations; but they had not prepared us for the extent and display of the scene which here burst upon us: an area of nearly a mile in circumference was crowded with magnificence and novelty. The king, his tributaries, and captains, were resplendent in the distance, surrounded by attendants of every description, fronted by a mass of warriors which seemed to make our approach impervious. The sun was reflected, with a glare scarcely more supportable than the heat, from the massy gold ornaments, which glistened in every direction. More than a hundred bands burst at once on our arrival, with the peculiar airs of their several chiefs; the horns flourished their defiances, with the beating of innumerable drums and metal instruments, and then yielding for a while to the soft breathings of their long flutes, which were truly harmonious; and a pleasing instrument, like a bagpipe without the drone, was happily blended. At least a hundred large umbrellas, or canopies, which could shelter thirty persons, were sprung up and down by the bearers with brilliant effect, being made of scarlet, yellow, and the most showy cloths and silks, and crowned on the top with crescents, pelicans, elephants, barrels, and arms and swords of gold; they were of various shapes, but mostly dome; and the valances (in some of which small looking glasses were inserted) fantastically scalloped and fringed; from the fronts of some, the proboscis and small teeth of elephants projected, and a few were roofed with leopard skins,

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\* From a Portuguese word signifying 'head-man'—an officer or magistrate.

and crowned with various animals naturally stuffed. The state hammocks, like long cradles, were raised in the rear, the poles on the heads of the bearers; the cushions and pillows were covered with crimson taffeta, and the richest cloths hung over the sides. Innumerable small umbrellas, of various coloured stripes, were crowded in the intervals, whilst several large trees heightened the glare by contrasting the sober colouring of nature.

“Discolor unde auri per ramos aura refulsit.”

‘The king’s messengers, with gold breast plates, made way for us, and we commenced our round, preceded by the canes and the English flag. We stopped to take the hand of every caboceer, which, as their household suites occupied several spaces in advance, delayed us long enough to distinguish some of the ornaments in the general blaze of splendour and ostentation.’—pp. 34, 35.

Whether Mr. Bowdich, in the midst of this general ‘blaze of splendour and ostentation,’ distinctly saw, or only imagined that he saw, the wild and wondrous assemblage of objects which he has brought together in the following procession, we leave the reader to determine—in either case it must be allowed that his powers are of no ordinary kind.—It is but justice to confess that we have been both interested and amused by the description in a high degree.

‘The caboceers, as did their superior captains and attendants, wore Ashantee cloths, of extravagant price from the costly foreign silks which had been unravelled to weave them in all the varieties of colour, as well as pattern; they were of an incredible size and weight, and thrown over the shoulder exactly like the Roman toga; a small silk fillet generally encircled their temples; and massy gold necklaces, intricately wrought, suspended Moorish charms, dearly purchased, and enclosed in small square cases of gold, silver, and curious embroidery. Some wore necklaces reaching to the navel entirely of *aggry* beads; a band of gold and beads encircled the knee, from which several strings of the same depended; small circles of gold like guineas, rings, and casts of animals, were strung round their ankles; their sandals were of green, red, and delicate white leather; manillas, and rude lumps of rock gold, hung from their left wrists, which were so heavily laden as to be supported on the head of one of their handsomest boys. Gold and silver pipes, and canes, dazzled the eye in every direction. Wolves’ and rams’ heads as large as life, cast in gold, were suspended from their gold handled swords, which were held around them in great numbers; the blades were shaped like round bills, and rusted in blood; the sheaths were of leopard skin, or the shell of a fish like shagreen. The large drums supported on the head of one man, and beaten by two others, were braced around with the thigh bones of their enemies, and ornamented with their skulls. The kettle drums, resting on the ground, were scraped with wet fingers, and covered with leopard skin. The wrists of the drummers were hung with bells and curiously shaped pieces of iron, which ginged loudly as they were beating. The smaller drums were  
suspended

suspended from the neck by scarves of red cloth; the horns (the teeth of young elephants) were ornamented at the mouth-piece with gold, and the jaw bones of human victims. The war caps of eagles feathers nodded in the rear, and large fans, of the wing feathers of the ostrich, played around the dignitaries: immediately behind their chairs (which were of black wood, almost covered by inlays of ivory and gold embossment) stood their handsomest youths, with corsets of leopard's skin covered with gold cockle shells, and stuck full of small knives, sheathed in gold and silver, and the handles of blue agate; cartouch boxes of elephants hides hung below, ornamented in the same manner; a large gold handled sword was fixed behind the left shoulder, and silk scarves and horses' tails (generally white) streamed from the arms and waist cloth: their long Danish muskets had broad rims of gold at small distances, and the stocks were ornamented with shells. Finely grown girls stood behind the chairs of some, with silver basins. Their stools of the most laborious carved work, and generally with two large bells attached to them, were conspicuously placed upon the heads of favourites; and crowds of small boys were seated around, flourishing elephants' tails curiously mounted. The warriors sat on the ground close to these, and so thickly as not to admit of our passing without treading on their feet, to which they were perfectly indifferent; their caps were of the skin of the pangolin and leopard, the tails hanging down behind; their cartouch belts (composed of small gourds which hold the charges, and covered with leopard or pig's skin) were embossed with red shells, and small brass bells thickly hung to them; on their hips and shoulders was a cluster of knives; iron chains and collars dignified the most daring, who were prouder of them than of gold; their muskets had rests affixed of leopard's skin, and the locks a covering of the same; the sides of their faces were curiously painted in long white streaks, and their arms also striped, having the appearance of armour.—p. 35.

It would be unpardonable to omit the 'Conductor's' minute and circumstantial description of the numerous and splendid cortège of the swarthy monarch, with whose many amiable qualities he appears in no small degree to be enraptured.

'The prolonged flourishes of the horns, a deafening tumult of drums, and the fuller concert of the intervals, announced that we were approaching the king: we were already passing the principal officers of his household; the chamberlain, the gold horn blower, the captain of the messengers, the captain for royal executions, the captain of the market, the keeper of the royal burial ground, and the master of the bands, sat surrounded by a retinue and splendor which bespoke the dignity and importance of their offices. The cook had a number of small services covered with leopard's skin held behind him, and a large quantity of massy silver plate was displayed before him, punch bowls, waiters, coffee pots, tankards, and a very large vessel with heavy handles and clawed feet, which seemed to have been made to hold incense; I observed a Portuguese inscription on one piece, and they

seemed generally of that manufacture. The executioner, a man of an immense size, wore a massy gold hatchet on his breast; and the execution stool was held before him, clotted in blood, and partly covered with a cawl of fat. The king's four linguists were encircled by a splendor inferior to none, and their peculiar insignia, gold canes, were elevated in all directions, tied in bundles, like fasces. The keeper of the treasury added to his own magnificence by the ostentatious display of his service; the blow pan, boxes, scales and weights, were of solid gold.

‘A delay of some minutes, whilst we severally approached to receive the king's hand, afforded us a thorough view of him; his deportment first excited my attention; native dignity in princes we are pleased to call barbarous was a curious spectacle: his manners were majestic, yet courteous: and he did not allow his surprise to beguile him for a moment of the composure of the monarch; he appeared to be about thirty-eight years of age, inclined to corpulence, and of a benevolent countenance; he wore a fillet of aggrary beads round his temples, a necklace of gold cockspur shells strung by their largest ends, and over his right shoulder a red silk cord, suspending three saphies cased in gold; his bracelets were the richest mixtures of beads and gold, and his fingers covered with rings; his cloth was of a dark green silk; a pointed diadem was elegantly painted in white on his forehead; also a pattern resembling an epaulette on each shoulder, and an ornament like a full blown rose, one leaf rising above another until it covered his whole breast; his knee-bands were of aggrary beads, and his ancle strings of gold ornaments of the most delicate workmanship, small drums, sankos, stools, swords, guns, and birds, clustered together; his sandals, of a soft white leather, were embossed across the instep band with small gold and silver cases of saphies; he was seated in a low chair, richly ornamented with gold; he wore a pair of gold castanets on his finger and thumb, which he clapped to enforce silence. The belts of the guards behind his chair were cased in gold, and covered with small jaw bones of the same metal; the elephants' tails, waving like a small cloud before him, were spangled with gold, and large plumes of feathers were flourished amid them. His eunuch presided over these attendants, wearing only one massy piece of gold about his neck: the royal stool, entirely cased in gold, was displayed under a splendid umbrella, with drums, sankos, horns, and various musical instruments, cased in gold, about the thickness of cartridge paper: large circles of gold hung by scarlet cloth from the swords of state, the sheaths as well as the handles of which were also cased; hatchets of the same were intermixed with them: the breasts of the Ocrabs, and various attendants, were adorned with large stars, stools, crescents, and gossamer wings of solid gold.’—p. 37.

The court of Haroun al Raschid was nothing to this! Indeed we have been unable, for some time, to divest ourselves of the idea that we have before us a new collection of the ‘Arabian Nights,’ more full of prodigies than the old, and have looked round

round, more than once, for the approach of the 'necromancer' that was to dissolve the vision, and bring us back to the sober realities of life. He makes his appearance in the next chapter in the person of Mr. Bowdich himself, who simply waves his wand, and immediately presents to us this 'Lord of Aladdin's lamp and magic ring,' whose glance seemed to transmute every viler substance into gold, as a mean, cunning, and rapacious negro, holding one angry *palaver*\* after another to decide the momentous question, whether the monthly tribute paid by us to his Ashantee majesty, should be 'four ackies† or four ounces?'

This weighty affair was the subject of an early discussion with the king, who took care previously to make the mission understand that 'he knew very well the King of England had sent him presents,' and that 'if they wished to be friends with him they must bring them to his own house, and shew them to him and his friends, and not give them before all the people.' They were accordingly carried and displayed before him; when his surprize and pleasure were so great that he exclaimed 'Englishmen know how to do every thing proper'—'they are a great people'—'they wish to be friends with me, to be as one with the Ashantees;' and many other expressions of a similar kind. He was particularly delighted with the exhibition of a camera obscura, observing that 'Englishmen knew more than Dutchmen or Danes,—and that black men knew nothing.'

At the moment however that he was paying these flattering compliments, a storm was gathering in his bosom. He had two notes which he produced, written by the governor of Cape Coast Castle, on behalf of the king of Annamaboe, and the chief of the Baffoes, making over to him, Sai king of Ashantee, four ackies (twenty shillings) per month of the tribute paid to them by the African Company, 'as a pledge of their allegiance and the termination of hostilities.' He desired to know what this meant, and, with fury in his looks, said to his linguist: 'Tell the white men that what they did yesterday made me much pleasure; I was glad we were to be friends; but to day I see they come to put shame upon my face; this breaks my heart too much. The English know, with my own powder, with my own shot, I drove the Fantees under their forts; I spread my sword over them, they were all killed, and their books from the fort are mine. These white men cheat me; they pretend to make friends with me, and they join with the Fantees to put shame upon my face; this makes the blood come from my heart.' Mr. James replied, that he was

\* From the Portuguese *palavra*, a conference.

† A piece of gold of the value of five shillings.



unacquainted with the circumstance, but that he would communicate his sentiments to the governor of Cape Coast. The king then asked how much had been paid on these notes? Mr. James still pleaded ignorance. The king's wrath increased. 'I know (he said) the English come to spy the country; they come to cheat me; they want war.' Mr. James modestly assured him that they wanted nothing but trade. He now became furious; drew his beard into his mouth, bit it, and rushing abruptly from his seat, exclaimed, 'Shantee foo! Shantee foo! ah! ah!' then shaking his finger at the representatives of the Committee of African merchants, he bellowed with an angry aspect, 'If a black man had brought me this message, I would have had his head cut off before me.' To this raving of an infuriated savage, Mr. James conceived he should best consult his own dignity and that of his comrades, and probably the personal safety of them all, by making no reply.

Not so Mr. Bowdich—this young gentleman, just arrived in Africa, full of self-importance, and seeing, to quote his own exquisite metaphor, 'our key to the interior shivered in the lock,' unceremoniously shoved aside his superior officer, and demanded to be heard,

'For I can talk, and Pistol's cock is up,  
And flashing fire will follow.'

The king liked his palaver much; his attention, Mr. Bowdich modestly assures us, was arrested by the novelty of a white man addressing him 'in the oratorical manner of his own country!' and joy was once more spread over every countenance.—In truth, we do not much wonder that the king 'liked *his* talk,' when he took upon himself to say, what Mr. James's instructions did not authorize him to say, that 'the governor of Cape Coast Castle would do all that his black Majesty wished him to do.' We know nothing of Mr. James, nor of Mr. Bowdich and his two associates, (Hutchinson and Tedlie,) but we incline to think that the annals of diplomacy do not furnish such an instance of contempt and disobedience towards a superior officer, as is here impudently avowed in the face of the world by the leader himself. Headed by Mr. Bowdich, these gentlemen had evidently formed a conspiracy to get rid of Mr. James, well knowing that he had it not in his power to take any steps against them, with his wretched guard of two native soldiers. They presumed, no doubt, on the near relationship of Mr. Bowdich (nephew, we believe) to the Governor in Chief; and the event justified their confidence. As Mr. James was recalled on their representation, we deem it but justice to make known the character given of this gentleman by that excellent officer, Commodore Sir James Yeo, who was in the

the habit of speaking his mind freely of those with whom he had to deal. 'Mr. James (he says, in a document now lying before us) has been seventeen years in the country; I have seen much of him, and I am decidedly of opinion that he possesses a more perfect knowledge of the interior, speaks more of their languages, and is better acquainted with the customs and manners of the different nations, than any other officer in the Company's service, or indeed, I may with safety add, any European now in Africa.'

We shall not detain our readers with the squabbles between the black chief and the young diplomatists respecting the amount of *ackies* and ounces, which the former demanded for the protection of the natives living under our forts. The lofty tone and the tumid language of the dispatches are amusing enough as coupled with those unimportant negotiations. Suffice it to say, that the weighty matters of the mission were, after numerous palavers and a residence of four months, brought to a happy conclusion, by obtaining permission for the Commenda people to acknowledge their fealty to the king of Ashantee, and by the signing of a treaty of 'perpetual peace and harmony between the British subjects residing in Africa and the subjects of the kings of Ashantee and Dwabin.' The principal articles of this treaty are—permission for a British officer to reside constantly at Coomassie—and the engagement of the two kings to commit their children to the care of the governor in chief, for education, at Cape Coast Castle.

But alas! for the instability of human affairs and the oaths and promises of negro princes! Notwithstanding the signature of Sai Tootoo Quamina, *his X mark*, the king of Dwabin, *his X mark*, and the marks of Quashee Tom, and eight others of equal renown on the gold coast,—notwithstanding the terrible oaths which, on this occasion, the king swore on his 'gold sword,' in presence of about three hundred of his wives 'in all the magnificence which a profusion of gold and silk could furnish,' notwithstanding even his solemn invocation of his *Fetish* to kill him if he did not keep the law, Mr. Bowdich had scarcely arrived in England to receive the honours due to his diplomatic exploits, when it was understood that not one single article had been observed by this magnificent sultan of 'majestic manners.' Mr. Hutchinson, who had been left behind as resident at Coomassie, finding his situation irksome and useless, soon deemed it prudent to withdraw; and the king's children, whose education at Cape Coast formed the most important article of the treaty, were never sent.

Mr. Bowdich, however, gave the king sufficient cause to be dissatisfied with his conduct before he left Coomassie. To prepare suitable presents for the Governor and the Committee in England, the

the king had particularly desired him to stay a few days beyond that originally fixed for his departure, (from Wednesday, we believe, till Monday;) but the 'Conductor,' with that waywardness of disposition which he cannot himself conceal, sent a message to say he was determined to go; upon which his majesty coolly observed, 'he might break the law (treaty) if he thought proper.' Mr. Bowdich did think proper, and gave orders to his party to proceed; but they had scarcely gone fifty yards when they were surrounded with gong-gongs, drums, and other 'melodious' instruments, and beaten and pelted back to their lodging. This undignified proceeding on the part of the youthful diplomatists, connected with their previous conduct towards Mr. James, was ill calculated to impress any very favourable opinion of the English officers of Cape Coast Castle on the king, or to induce him to trust the education of his sons to such hands. Mr. Bowdich, however, proudly says, 'I consider the affair of yesterday to have perfected the impression of our spirit'!

At length the day of departure arrived, when Messrs. Bowdich and Tedlie took leave of their comrade, Mr. Hutchinson, who, as we have said, remained behind, and whose diary forms the most interesting part of the volume. Mr. Bowdich proceeded with his papers to England; but, in the mean time, most extravagant stories had preceded him of the unbounded wealth and splendour of the Ashantee capital. It was represented in such glittering colours, that many were persuaded it was the true El Dorado, where the very pebbles were of gold. It was believed too that such was the facility of intercourse with the interior of Africa, that Timbuctoo and the Niger, those long sought objects, were most accessible from the capital of Ashantee. A favourable impression was thus created in behalf of this newly visited country; and, on the representation of the African Company, Lord Bathurst, ever ready to forward such views as have for their object the promotion of science and general knowledge, appointed a gentleman of the name of Dupuis as Vice-Consul of Coomassie, purely from his perfect knowledge of the Arabic language, which would enable him to converse with those Moors of whom we shall presently speak, and from his acquaintance with African subjects, as displayed in the notes which he supplied to the Narrative of Adams the American seaman.

Mr. Dupuis lost no time in hastening to the place of his destination; but he found, on his arrival at Cape Coast, that Mr. Hutchinson had returned, and that it was considered unsafe for him to proceed. As the political events of great nations are always supposed to arise out of adequate causes, it may here be proper to trace the origin of this unlooked-for state of affairs at  
Cape

Cape Coast Castle. Mr. Bowdich had informed us that the king of Ashantee was preparing for war against several of his neighbours; that as a pretext for a quarrel, he had sent to demand the royal stool of Buntakoo or Gaman, which was thickly plated with gold; that the king had given it up to preserve peace; but that his sister, a woman of masculine spirit, had reproached her brother for his timidity, and ordered another stool to be made of solid gold to replace the plated one. The king of Ashantee demanded this also, together with the golden figure of an elephant which he heard had been dug out of some ruins. The lady sent him word that he should have neither; to which the king replied that she was a *strong woman*, and that he would give her twelve months to prepare for war. Thus matters stood when Mr. Bowdich left Coomassie.

It appears however, from advices which we have recently received from Cape Coast, that the king of Ashantee, impatient to possess this stool of gold, had dispatched one of his captains to Buntakoo with instructions to obtain and bring it away, by any means. The man proceeded on his mission, made his demand, negotiated, entreated, threatened, but the influence of the sister prevailed over her mild and peaceable brother, and he met with a peremptory refusal. The officer, being fully aware that if he returned without the stool his head would pay the forfeit, found means to carry it off by stealth. This was an insult not to be tolerated; and the Buntakoos prepared for immediate war. The king of Ashantee, on learning this, marched the whole of his force into the territory of Gaman.

The issue of this war was for a long time doubtful. The reports that reached the coast were various, but generally unfavourable to the cause of Ashantee. The Fantees, elated with the idea of their enemy being beaten, are said to have ill-treated the Ashantee traders in passing through their country. While matters were in this train, Mr. Dupuis arrived at Cape Coast to take charge of his mission; an event which afforded an opportunity for opening a communication with Coomassie, and obtaining some certain intelligence as to the state of affairs. A messenger was accordingly dispatched, who, on his return, was accompanied by another from the king of Ashantee, to demand reparation for the injurious reports spread by the Fantees, and the insults offered to his people. It now appeared that the result of the war had been most disastrous to the Buntakoos; their king having been taken prisoner, their whole country overrun, and many thousands of the inhabitants butchered, or led in triumph to Coomassie, to add to the number of human sacrifices in that capital.

The messenger was followed by several war-captains from Coomassie

massie to demand a palaver with the governor of Cape Coast Castle, at which the chiefs of the Fantee nation were present; but such was the haughty and insolent behaviour of the Ashantees, and so menacing their language, that the conference terminated abruptly, and they took their departure for the capital; leaving the king of the Fantees in possession of his jaw-bone, which they had strenuously insisted on taking with them, as an indispensable condition of peace! Such was the state of affairs when the last accounts were dispatched from Cape Coast, where Mr. Dupuis still remained shut up within the castle; and thus ended *in fumo* Mr. Bowdich's 'treaty of peace and amity which was to last for ever, and which realized commercial and scientific desiderata, put an end to the apprehensions for our settlements, and to a carnage and devastation incredible but to those who witnessed the horrors of the successive Ashantee invasions.'

It now remains to give a short summary of the state of society and of the moral character and customs of the Ashantees, which in truth differ but little from those published in the course of the last two centuries, concerning the several petty states of the coast of Guinea, extending in an eastward direction from Cape Mesurada to Old Calabar, and occupying a line of twelve hundred geographical miles.

The 'history' of the Ashantees, to which Mr. Bowdich has dedicated a whole chapter, is, like that of all other savages who can neither read nor write, the history of a day, and little worthy of notice; in the words of Mr. Bowdich—'there is nothing (in it) to recompense either the investigation or the perusal.' The 'constitution and laws,' as indicating the state of society, would have been more important, had Mr. Bowdich been better informed on these subjects,—but ignorant of the language, and destitute of records, what indeed could he know on such matters? He says, 'the king, the aristocracy, now reduced to four, and the assembly of captains, are the three estates of the Ashantee government;' but that the king, who in private is supposed to be governed by this aristocracy of four, (who created him,) receives from them, in public, the most abject homage; that they approach him crawling on all fours, and covering their heads with dust; as do the captains and caboceers, or heads of villages. As for the people, all we are told about them is, that 'they are ungrateful, insolent and licentious.'—If it be true that his Ashantee majesty repeatedly expressed his 'belief that his subjects were the worst people existing, except the Fantees;' they might, as far as we can see, return the compliment by declaring him to be the most ferocious brute in the world, except his brother of Dahomey, with whom he is pretty nearly on a par.

The

The 'laws,' we apprehend, are just what it may suit the king and his counsellors to make them, so that what is law to-day may be treason to-morrow. We must therefore deal briefly with them. If any subject picks up gold in the market-place, it is death; the scourings of the mud being a royal perquisite. A creditor may seize the person of his debtor or any of his family as slaves. Murder is redeemable by a fine to the family of the murdered, except in the case of a slave, who may be murdered by his owner with impunity. If a person kills himself, *on the head of another*, that other must kill himself also, a practice frequently resorted to out of a spirit of revenge, of which the following is an instance.

'Adumissa, an extraordinarily beautiful red skinned woman of Cape Coast, possessed numerous admirers, but rejected them all. One of them, in despair, shot himself *on her head* close to her house. The family demanded satisfaction; to save her relations from a ruinous palaver, she resolved to shoot herself in expiation. She accordingly assembled her friends and relatives from various parts of the country, and sitting, richly dressed, killed herself in their presence with golden bullets. After the body had been exposed in state it was buried with a profusion of cloths and gold. The beautiful Adumissa is still eulogised, and her favourite patterned cloth bears her name amongst the natives.'—p. 259, *note*.

Wives are held in little estimation, and a man may take as many as he chuses to purchase; yet, adds Mr. Bowdich very gravely and learnedly—'It is forbidden, as it was by Lycurgus, to praise the beauty of another man's wife, being intrigue by implication!' They were very jealous of letting their women hear any thing regarding the state of female society in Europe, and Mr. Hutchinson says that Odumata, one of the privy council, locked up his wives because he (Mr. Hutchinson) put evil into their heads, by telling them that Englishmen allowed every woman to have a husband to herself.—But we are losing sight of the 'sovereign power.'

The king is heir to all the gold of every subject, from the highest to the lowest. The blood of the royal family must not be shed; royal crimes, however, may be washed away by drowning the criminal in the river Dah. The king of Ashantee is allowed by law three thousand three hundred and thirty-three wives, this being the precise mystical number on which the prosperity of the nation depends. The number, it appears, on actual duty is not more than six, the rest being shut up in two particular streets of the town, closed at each end with bamboo doors, and guarded by soldiers. The king of Dahomey turns his three thousand wives to a better account; the stoutest of them are embodied in a regiment, and regularly trained to the use of arms, under a female general and subordinate officers; and, according to the testimony  
of

of several Europeans, they go through their exercise with great precision. Governor Abson was present at Abomey when the king marched against the Eyeos, on which occasion he was attended by a body-guard of 800 women.

On the death of the king a most horrid scene of human slaughter takes place; all the sacrifices that had been made for the death of every subject during his reign being required to be repeated 'to amplify that for the death of the monarch, and to solemnize it in every excess of extravagance and barbarity.'— 'The brothers, sons, and nephews of the king,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'affecting temporary insanity, burst forth with their muskets and fire promiscuously amongst the crowd.' The crowd, we take for granted, would not be very numerous on such an occasion. Indeed we are told that 'few persons of rank dare stir from their houses for the first two or three days,' but that 'they drive forth their slaves as a composition for their own absence.' He adds, 'the king's ocras (a kind of dependant, or household-slaves) are all murdered on his tomb, to the number of a hundred or more, and women in abundance.' What becomes of the mystic number of wives we are not informed. They are probably sent, at least no inconsiderable number of them, according to the notion that prevails in this unhappy country, to 'attend their deceased lord in the other world.' On this principle, human victims are slaughtered on the death of every member of the royal family, the captains, caboceers, and all, in fact, who can afford it. Mr. Bowdich says that the present king, a very 'amiable and benevolent' sovereign, on the death of his mother, devoted 3,000 victims to 'water her grave,' 2,000 of whom were Fantee prisoners, and the rest levied in certain proportions on the several towns.

This devilish custom of immolating human victims, under the notion of their being subservient to the use and administering to the pleasures of the deceased in the other world, has been the practice of nations which ranked higher in the scale of civilization than the negroes; with all it is grounded on temporal pride or pre-eminence, as well as on imperfect and irrational notions of a future state. The King of Dahomey used to hold a constant communication with his deceased father. Whenever he wished to announce to him any remarkable event, or to consult him on any emergency, he would send for one of his ablest messengers, and, after delivering to him his errand, chop off his head. It sometimes happened that, after the head was off, he recollected something else which he wished to say, in which case a second messenger was dispatched in like manner with a postscript to his former message. Mr. Abson was present on an occasion of this kind. The poor fellow who was selected for the honour of bearing his majesty's dispatch, aware of what was to happen, declared he was  
unacquainted



unacquainted with the road, on which the tyrant, drawing his sword, vociferated, 'I'll shew you the way!' and with one blow severed his head from his body, highly indignant that an European should have witnessed the least expression of reluctance in the performance of a duty which is considered as a great honour.

These execrable massacres fall indiscriminately on subjects and slaves: but of their prisoners taken in war, now that they have no other way of getting rid of them, the slaughter is still more dreadful. Mr. Bowdich, as well as the other writers on this ill-fated country, revels in the description of these 'horrors,' of which we suspect our readers have 'supp'd full'; and from which therefore we willingly withdraw.

Mr. Bowdich is so fully occupied in admiring the virtues and amiable disposition of Sai Tootoo Quamina, that, as we before observed, he has almost forgotten to give his readers any information concerning the 'lower orders.' It would have been desirable to know how the population of one million, which he gives to the Ashantee country, (on very vague grounds,) and the hundred thousand (afterwards reduced to fifteen thousand) permanent inhabitants of Coomassie, contrived to support themselves; what were their general occupations, and in what condition they lived. He says, however, that they weave, paint, and dye cloths; make a tolerably good kind of pottery; and work in gold and silver. Gold, in fact, glitters through every page of his book, but sooner or later it all falls to the share of his sable majesty. 'The king's scales, blow-pan, boxes, and weights, and even the tongs which hold the tinder to light his pipe were neatly made of the purest gold that could be manufactured.' Some are employed in tanning leather, others in various kinds of carpenter's works, and others again in breaking, rounding, and boring snail-shells, but for what purpose we know not. The retainers of families in the capital, we are told, are sent out to cultivate the plantations of their superiors, but on what conditions and on what tenures the lands are held, we are not informed. The markets are supplied with the flesh of various animals, from beef and mutton down to 'smoked snails stuck on small sticks.' Soups form the principal article of food; those of the higher orders are made of dried fish, fowls, beef or mutton; those of the common people of dried deer, monkey's flesh, and frequently of the pelts; with yams, plantains, and guinea corn. Their drink is *pittoo*, made of the corn, and palm-wine, the quantity of which consumed by one person in one day is quite incredible, 'the vigour of an Ashantee being estimated by the measure of the draught he can drink off.' Odomata, one of the 'privy counsellors,' says Mr. Hutchinson, 'asked

me one day why I did not get drunk sometimes and come to see him? I told him were I to get drunk in Ashantee I ought to have my sword broke over my head. He gave me some palm-wine, and looked amazed at my swallowing only half a bumper-full; he added, that he would drink three pots (about fifteen gallons) before he went to bed!' (p. 386.)

The capital of the Ashantees is certainly superior to any negro town that has yet been described within the same distance from the coast. 'Four of the principal streets are half a mile long, and from fifty to a hundred yards wide,' and the number of streets counted by Mr. Bowdich amounted to twenty-seven. The houses have strong mud walls neatly plastered and ornamented with a sort of arabesque, and well covered with palm-leaf thatch. Many of them are built round a square court, after the fashion of the east, with verandas or openings in front. We have very little doubt that the designs have been given to them by the Moors, who were known to our early visitors of the African coast under the name of Malays, and who then taught the natives to dye sheep and goat skins of different colours; to make slippers, tobacco pouches, cartouch boxes, and bags for gunpowder, saddles and other articles of horse-furniture. These Moors, too, seem to have put it into the king's head to set about building a palace, roofed with brass pans beaten flat, and laid over an ivory frame-work; the door-posts and pillars are to be formed of ivory, and the windows and doors to be cased in gold! Those, who are stated to have the 'Thousand and One Nights' commonly in their mouths, may readily be supposed to flatter the vanity of a powerful monarch by the encouragement of such an extravagant idea; which, Mr. Bowdich assures us, both he and his chiefs are anxious to carry into execution.

We cannot venture on Mr. Bowdich's abstruse disquisition on the 'philosophy' of the negro languages; it is far too learned for us. An ordinary traveller would have contented himself with a simple vocabulary of words, but our philologist enters into all the nice distinctions of verbs and nouns, 'so like the Greek;' catches all the peculiar 'additives and inflections,' detects the 'figures synæresis, diæresis, metathesis and anastrophe,' &c. and submits to the test of the 'Diversions of Purley,' half a dozen different languages, which occasionally came across him in his four months' residence on the coast of Africa.

His chapter on 'Music' we pass altogether; professing to have no ear for the sound of 'a hollow elephant's tusk,' which, Phillips says, 'makes a noise like the bellowing of bulls.' Mr. Bowdich, however, finds its blast to be solemn, grand, and expressive of

of any thing which the performer wishes it to utter. The performance on the harp of a diseased white negro of Gaboon may amuse our readers from the wild extravagance of the description.

'At times, one deep and hollow note burst forth and died away; the sounds of the harp became broken; presently he looked up, pursuing all the actions of a maniac, taking one hand from the strings, to wave it up and down, stretching forth one leg, and drawing it up again as if convulsed, lowering the harp on to the other foot, and tossing it up and down. Whilst the one hand continued playing, he rang forth a peal which vibrated on the ear long after it had ceased; he was silent; the running accompaniment served again as a prelude to a loud recitative, uttered with the greatest volubility, and ending with one word, with which he ascended and descended, far beyond the extent of his harp, with the most beautiful precision. Sometimes he became more collected, and a mournful air succeeded the recitative, though without the least connection, and he would again burst out with the whole force of his powerful voice in the notes of the Hallelujah of Handel. To meet with this chorus in the wilds of Africa, and from such a being, had an effect I can scarcely describe, and I was lost in astonishment at the coincidence. There could not be a stronger proof of the nature of Handel, or the powers of the negro.'

The nature of Handel in the notes of his Hallelujah!—but to proceed—

'As regards the words, there was such a rhapsody of recitative, of mournful, impetuous, and exhilarated air, wandering through the life of man, throughout the animal and vegetable kingdom for its subjects, without period, without connection, so transient, abrupt, and allegorical, that the Governor of the town could translate a line but occasionally, and I was too much possessed by the music, and the alternate rapture and phrenzy of the performer, to minute the half which he communicated.—Jiggledy, jiggledy, jiggledy, too, too, tee, too.' p. 451.

This burst of inspiration, Mr. Bowdich says, 'often invaded or broke off the mournful strain; it was said to be an imitation of the note of the woodpecker':—but not surely without the accompaniment of the owl.

The chapter on the 'Geography' of Africa we made several attempts to read and understand, but in vain. Mr. Bowdich has brought together such a crowd of hard names of places from his own stores, and so mixed them up with others from D'Anville; Rennell, Delisle, Lucas, Horneman, Edrisi, and every writer of whose works he could get hold, as to set at defiance all attempts to form any probable notion of their several positions. The routes obtained from the Moors may be correct, but Mr. Bowdich is mistaken in supposing them 'to trace the Niger into the Nile'; it is indeed evident from inspection, that none of them pretend to follow the course of the river, but the usual routes, very considerably

ably to the northward of it. Thus, that which is marked No. 3, by a Bornoo Moor, has Bornou and Baghermie on the route, both of which are far enough from the Niger, as Mr. Bowdich ought to have known. It is a remarkable circumstance, however, that all the information collected from the Moors by Horneman, Burckhardt, Jackson and others, agrees in this one point, that the Niger or Joliba is the same river with the Nile of Egypt. The testimony collected by Mr. Hutchinson is to the same effect.

'My attention (he says) being anxiously turned towards information concerning the Niger and its course, all inquiries end in making the Nile its continuation. An old Moor from Jenné told me; unasked, that while he was at Askanderee (Alexandria) twenty-six years ago, he saw a fight at the mouth of the Nile between ships, and one of them was blown up in the air with a terrible explosion. This must have been the battle fought by Lord Nelson, although there is a mistake in the date of seven years; he surely could not invent such a story. He states also, that returning to Masser (Grand Cairo) the European armies advanced to that place; the first army took every thing they wanted and would not pay: but when the second European and Turkish army got possession of it, they paid for whatever they wanted. All the Moors were ordered to retire to one quarter of the city, and not allowed to mix with the soldiers; this agrees with Sir Robert Wilson's account of the Egyptian campaign. I shewed him a seal I have, of Pompey's pillar, which he said he knew; he had travelled from Jenné to Masser on a joma (camel) and drew me a map of the Quolla and Nile from its source to its emptying itself into the sea of Alexandria.' —p. 407.

Mr. Bowdich seems determined to reconcile himself to every hypothesis that has ever been formed of the course and termination of this celebrated river. That 'it is only known to the Moors' (of Ashantee) 'by the name of Quolla, and to the negroes by that of Quorra,' is not surprizing; nothing is more common in Africa than for the same river to bear a different name in different places, and for different rivers to bear the same name: but the way in which Mr. Bowdich makes his Quolla to perambulate the whole of the African continent, and literally to *quarter* it with its divergent branches, some flowing to the East, some to the West, some to the North and others again to the South, is not only geographically absurd, but physically impossible. This Quolla, it seems, first passing to the eastward as far as Timbuctoo, throws off a branch directly to the northward which takes the name of Joliba, and passing a place called Yahoodee, proceeds (across the Zaahra of course, but how far we know not) toward Tunis:—this is a bold feature in his 'Geography,' and has the merit, at least, of being perfectly new. Then this northern branch of the Niger, called the Joliba, throws off, a little to the northward

northward of Timbuctoo, a large shoot directly to the eastward, called the *Gambaroo*, which terminates in the lake *Caudee*; this gives a new origin as well as a new nomenclature to the Bornou river (Wad el Gazel) which flows into the lake Fittri or *Conka*; besides entirely superseding the ably reasoned hypothesis of Major Rennell which makes the Niger to terminate in Wangara:—to prevent the possibility of such an idea being entertained, Mr. Bowdich has placed Oongoora (the new spelling of Wangara) about 900 miles to the northward of any part of the Niger!—we should rather say of the *Gambaroo*. Then comes another branch, the real Niger or Quolla, which, striking off from the main trunk about as far to the southward of Timbuctoo as the *Gambaroo* is to the northward of it—in fact out of the same identical corner of the lake '*Dibber*,'—runs about S. E. until it reaches the eighth parallel of latitude, when it takes nearly a rectangular turn to the northward, and falls into the Bahr el Abiad, the Nile of Egypt. In the 8th degree of latitude, however, and about the 22d of East longitude, the Quolla throws off a branch to the southward, which presently deflecting to the south-west, takes the name of Ogoowai, and then turning due west, empties itself at Cape Lopez, (where we know that no river exists,) into the southern Atlantic. But in order to meet the hypothesis of Park and Maxwell, this Ogoowai throws off, about the middle of its course, another branch which, winding to the westward, becomes the Zaire or Congo. We do not believe that the annals of geography furnish a speculation (for it is nothing else) so little deserving of a serious refutation, it being, in fact, wholly contrary to the laws of nature. Mr. Bowdich's map of Africa is on a par with the 'outline' which he has reprinted from Dapper's '*Description de l'Afrique*,' the absurdities of which are copied from the old map of Hondius, in which the Nile and the Zaire are made to flow in different directions, from the lake Zembri, 'the mother of waters.'

The name of Park is inseparably connected with that of the Niger. From Baba, the chief of the Moors at Coomassie, Mr. Bowdich says he obtained much information; one day, he adds, after reading the specimens of African Arabic at the end of Mr. Jackson's book, Baba sent for another Moor who, he observed, was a very learned man, and had just arrived from Timbuctoo.

'This man expressing no surprise when he first saw me, Baba explained it, by telling me, spontaneously, that this Moor had seen three white men before, at Boussa. I eagerly inquired the particulars of the novelty, and they were again repeated to Baba, and were thus interpreted; "that some years ago, a vessel with masts suddenly appeared on the Quolla or Niger near Boussa, with three white men, and some black. The natives, encouraged by these strange men, took off

provisions for sale, were well paid and received presents besides; it seems the vessel had anchored. The next day, perceiving the vessel going on, the natives hurried after her, (the Moor protested from their anxiety to save her from some sunken rocks, with which the Quolla abounds) but the white men mistaking, and thinking they pursued for a bad purpose, deterred them. The vessel soon after struck, the men jumped into the water and tried to swim, but could not for the current, and were drowned. He thought that some of their clothes were now at Wauwaw, but he did not believe there were any books or papers.—p. 90.

‘I have been learning Arabic this last month, (says Mr. Hutchinson,) principally from the Shereef Abraham, who comes from Boussa, where Mungo Park was drowned, and he, as he says, was an eye-witness to it.’ Here is some mistake. The Shereef Abraham does not say that he actually witnessed the transaction, (that is, provided Mr. Salamé’s translation be more correct than Mr. Jackson’s,) but that he heard the report of it. Both translations are sufficiently obscure, which may be attributed in some degree, perhaps, to the defective state of the original; but we are disposed to give a preference to the former, because it is the translator’s native language, and is, in fact, less unintelligible than the latter.\*

These

\* ‘MR. SALAMÉ’S TRANSLATION.

A literal translation of a Declaration, written in a corrupted Arabic, from the town of Yaúd in the interior of Africa.

In the name of God the Merciful and the Munificent.

This Declaration is issued from the town called Yaúd in the Country of Kossa.—We (the writer,) do witness the following case: (statement.) We never saw, nor heard of the sea (River) called Koodd; but we went to hear (understood) the voice (report) of some persons saying, “We saw a ship, equal to her we never saw before; and the King of Yaúd had sent plenty of every kind of food, with cows and sheep; There were two men, one woman, two male slaves and two maids in the ship; The two white men were derived from the race (sect) of Nasgri; (Christ or Christianity.)” The King of Yaúd asked them to come out to him; (to land); and they refused coming out, (landing,) and they went to the King of the Country of Bassa, who is greater than the King of Yaúd; And while they were sitting in the ship and gaining a position (rounding) over the Cape of Koodd, and were in society with the

MR. JACKSON’S TRANSLATION.

In the name of God the Merciful and Clement.

This Narrative proceeds from the territory in Housa called Eeaurée. We observed an extraordinary event or circumstance, but we neither saw nor heard of the River which is called Kude, and as we were sitting, we heard the voice of children and we saw a vessel the like to which in size we never saw before; and we saw the King of Eeaurée send cattle and sheep, and a variety of vegetables in great abundance: and there were two men and one woman, and two slaves, and they tied or fastened them in the vessel.

There were also in the vessel, two white men of the race called Christians (N’sarah) and the Sultan of Eeaurée called aloud to them to come out of the vessel, but they would not.

They proceeded to the country of Bassa, which is greater than that of the Sultan of Eeaurée, and as they were sitting in the vessel, they hung or were stopped, by the Cape or Head Land of Kude.

And the people of the Sultan of Bassa called to them, and poured their arms into

These Moors, it appears, cross Africa without any difficulty. Baba the chief informed Mr. Hutchinson of the intended departure of a Moor for Jenné, where it was understood two white men were residing, as were two others at Timbuctoo; and he brought him to Mr. Hutchinson to take charge of letters for them, which Baba had no doubt would be safely delivered. When Mr. Hutchinson mentioned to them the conjecture, that the Niger, or great river of Africa, was lost in a large lake, they laughed at such an idea,—‘God,’ they said, ‘made all rivers to run to the sea; you say that small rivers go there: the Quolla is the largest river in the world, and why should it not go there also?’ Yet these are the same people, and Baba, the speaker, is the very same man from whom Mr. Bowdich had, as he says, his account of the Gambaroo terminating in the lake Coudee!—But we have dealt longer on this volume than its merits warrant; and have yet to offer a few observations on the state of our establishments, and of our connection with the Negro powers, on the Gold Coast, which the second work of Mr. Bowdich seems to demand.

The general view which we have taken of the character of the king and caboceers (for the people are out of the question) of Ashantee, differs not essentially from that which may be collected from the writings of Barbot, Bosman, Atkins, Snelgrave, and the earlier visitors to the western coast of Africa; and it certainly is not such as to encourage the long cherished hopes of those well-intentioned advocates for the abolition of the slave-trade, and the civilization of the negroes; the latter of which was to follow as a consequence of the former. The slave-trade, it is true, has only as yet been partially abolished; but we fear it would be difficult to shew that civilization has increased in proportion as the trade

the people of the King of Bassa, the ship reached (struck) a-head of a Mountain which took (destroyed) her away, and the men and women of Bassa all together, with every kind of arms; (goods); And the ship could find no way to avoid the mountain; And the man who was in the ship, killed his wife, and threw all his property into the Sea, (River,) and then they threw themselves also from fear: Afterwards they took one out of the water till the news reached the town of Kanji the country of the King of Wawi, and the King of Wawi heard of it, he buried him in his earth, (grave), and the other we have not seen; perhaps he is in the bottom of the water.”—And God knows best. Authentic from the mouth of Sherif Abraham.—Finis.

into the vessel, and the vessel reached the head-land or cliff, and became attached or fixed to the head of the mountain, and could not pass it. Then the men and women of Busa collected themselves hostilely together, with arms of all descriptions, when the vessel being unable to clear or pass the Cape, the man in the vessel killed his wife and threw the whole of her property into the river: they then threw themselves into the river, fear seizing them (the news of this occurrence was then conveyed to the Sultan Wawee) until it reached by water the territory of Kanjee, in the country of the Sultan Wawee, and we buried it (a male body) in its earth, and one of them, we saw not at all in the water, and God knows the truth of this report. From the mouth of the Shereef Ibrahim.—The end.



has been diminished, or indeed that it has increased at all. The slave-trade was not, in fact, the sole and efficient cause of the low and lamentable condition of negro society. The assertion which generally obtained belief, that wars were made merely for the purpose of procuring slaves for the market, was not well founded; we have seen that the motive of the king of Ashantee's attack on the peaceable Buntakoos was gold, and the delight which he takes in shedding human blood: and the fact was not only positively denied to Governor Abson by the king of Dahomey but contradicted by his putting to death a number of prisoners for the sake of their skulls, (in the contemplation of which these people seem to take a horrible delight,) 'at a time when there were six slave-ships in the road of Whydah, a great scarcity of trade, and the price of a prime slave little short of thirty pounds sterling.'—'I have killed,' said he, 'many thousands without thinking of the slave-market, and shall kill many thousands more. Some heads I place at my door, others I throw into the market-place, that people may stumble over them. This gives a grandeur to my Customs; this makes my enemies fear me; and this pleases my ancestors to whom I send them. Dahomeans do not make war to make slaves, but to make prisoners to kill at the Customs.\*'

If it be inquired why a constant residence and communication of Europeans with the negroes of the coast of Guinea have failed to advance them one single step in the scale of civil polity, or of moral and religious improvement, we conceive it will be found to arise mainly from two causes—the horrible superstitions by which their minds are darkened and bewildered,—and the absence of all good example on the part of those whom they acknowledge to be their superiors—the whites. It is in vain now to deny the mental capacity of the negroes for instruction and improvement;—but nothing, in fact, could possibly be worse calculated to introduce either among them, than the mode of our connection with them from first to last. We need not revert to the period when the slave-trade was a legalized traffic, and carried on in its full vigour; it will be sufficient to shew how utterly impossible it must be, under present circumstances, for the blacks to feel that degree of respect and admiration for the whites, which alone could inspire them with a desire to imitate their example; and that whether our miserable forts on the Gold Coast are kept up, at an expense to the public of £ 30,000 a year,† to prevent the slave-trade, or to civilize the inhabitants, they are wholly inefficient for either purpose; that is to say, provided there be any

\* Dalzell's Dahomey.

† In the year 1819, 28,000*l.* was granted by parliament to the African Company.

truth,

truth, and we have reason to believe, from other quarters, that there is but too much truth, in many of the statements contained in Mr. Bowdich's pamphlet on 'The African Committee.'

The total inadequacy of these forts to prevent the slave-trade will be obvious from a brief sketch of them. The first on the gold coast is Apollonia, garrisoned by a black serjeant and two soldiers; it pays a tribute to the chief of the town, who seizes the governor's servants, or withholds provisions, whenever he wishes to bring him over to his own terms. The trade is very trifling, and the expense of keeping it up very considerable. Dix Cove, the next fort, has a soldier or two more; its expense is somewhat greater than the former, and its trade less. Seconda, the third, is a thatched house, with a governor and two black soldiers. It has little trade; and the next, Commenda, none at all. The head-quarters of the African Company's corps, and the residence of the governor-in-chief, is Cape Coast Castle, a regular and tolerably well constructed fortress. The strength of the garrison, composed chiefly of native blacks, officered by the traders, consists of about a hundred men—Mr. Bowdich says forty; but he chooses to omit the artificers, servants, and slaves, all of whom are regularly trained and exercised. The expense of maintaining this fort is very considerable, and the trade of no great consequence. Nine miles to the eastward of this is Annamaboe, a position of little importance, except indeed as a check upon the Ashantees, who have recently destroyed the town; it has a governor and a garrison of fifteen soldiers. It has little or no trade. Tantumquerry follows, a very insignificant fort, in a ruinous condition, without trade, and altogether useless except as a point in the line of communication from Cape Coast Castle to the next fort, which is that of Accra, the easternmost on the Gold Coast. In importance Accra ranks next to Cape Coast. It has a small trade in ivory. Mr. Bowdich allows it only a garrison of seven soldiers.

Now it is quite impossible, as we have just observed, that these few wretched forts, miserably garrisoned, and placed on a line of coast extending nearly 200 miles, can tend in the smallest degree to the prevention of the slave-trade; and it is well known they do not. 'One thousand slaves,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'left Ashantee for two Spanish schooners, or Americans under that flag, to our knowledge, during our residence at Coomassie, doubtless the whole number was much greater: since our return it must have been very considerable, for the slave-trade was never more brisk than it is at this moment, under the cloak of the Spanish flag; and great risk has been incurred, in consequence of offending our new friend and formidable neighbour, the king of Ashantee, from

from the firm resistance of his strong intreaties to the governor-in-chief, to allow the return of a powerful mulatto slave-trader to Cape Coast town, whence he had been expelled under the present government as the most daring promoter of that commerce.' (p. 27.)

This most execrable traffic is carried on chiefly between Accra and Benin by vessels under Spanish, Portuguese and American colours. These vessels land their supercargoes on some part of the coast, with directions to proceed to such points by such a day, and to have a sufficient number of canoes in readiness to embark at once whatever slaves may have been collected, which amount generally to a full cargo. The vessels on which they are to embark stand in towards the coast on the day appointed, and a few hours are sufficient to take them off. Those belonging to the Portuguese generally make a run to Princess' island, the governor of which, whose name we believe is Gomez, is said to be a most notorious slave-dealer.

This mode of carrying on the trade, in small vessels, the better to avoid detection, is horrible beyond description. A few months since, one of these floating dungeons, belonging to the miscreant above-mentioned, (Gomez,) was brought to Sierra Leone by the Pheasant, which excited a lively degree of indignation throughout that settlement. She was a schooner of *eleven tons*, having on board *seventy-one* wretched victims. In one compartment were seventeen men and twenty boys, the former in irons, and the latter piled on one another in a space of seventeen feet in length, seven feet in breadth, and *one foot eight inches* in height, stowed upon the yams intended for their support. One of them being in the last stage of dysentery, the effluvia emitted was dreadful beyond description. In the second compartment were thirty-four females; this was only nine feet long, four and a half wide, and two and a half high; a space which, if we could not place implicit credit on the very first authority at Sierra Leone, where these unfortunate creatures landed, we should say made the fact impossible, as they must literally have filled this abominable hole with *one solid mass of human flesh*. The name of this floating charnel-house, as if in mockery of humanity, was *La Felicidade*.

It is in vain, therefore, to make laws and treaties, *limiting* this nefarious traffic; it must be *totally* abolished: and it is only surprizing that, after a congress of the sovereigns of Europe should have publicly branded it with infamy, two of the weakest of the European maritime powers should still be permitted to abuse an unmerited indulgence, and, under cover of their flags, be the means of extending that abuse to other nations. We may be well assured that, until the slave-trade shall be abolished on every part of the coast of Africa, and every one found engaged in it subjected

jected to the penalties of piracy, this detestable traffic will not be abandoned.

The late Sir James Yeo informed the Committee of African merchants, that the impotence of their out-posts was such that they could not even prevent the offering of human sacrifices under their walls: and Mr. Bowdich confirms the assertion:—‘two victims (he assures us) were recently murdered with the most refined barbarity in *broad day*, close to the fort of Accra.’ As little capable are they of defending themselves against an external enemy. Their wretched garrisons are on a par with their guns and carriages. We have heard that on the appearance of one of our ships of war before Accra, a salute was fired one gun short of the usual number to which a king’s ship is entitled; and the apology was, that the charge of one of their guns had made its escape through the touch-hole, leaving the wad fast in the gun!

But the condition of the forts is by no means the worst part of the story, if we may credit Mr. Bowdich. As the Committee, however, have not met the lofty notions which he seems to have entertained of the merits of his mission to Coomassie and of his treaty, with adequate respect, his censures may have a tincture of vindictiveness in them, and should, therefore, be received with caution. His quarrel with his employers appears to be briefly this. On his arrival in England he expected immediately to be appointed to a situation on the coast of Africa of his own carving out—a salary of £500 a year, with the appointments of a member of council, commanding officer of the troops at head-quarters, with the brevet rank of captain in Africa, and manager of expeditions for discoveries in the interior, with liberty to publish annual reports of all enterprizes. This the Committee did not think fit to comply with; but told him that £1000 a year would be set apart for the expenses of missions of discovery, and that he might resume his situation, and take his chance with the governor (his uncle) and council as to his appointment to conduct these missions; this did not suit him, and—*hinc iræ et lacrymæ!* He sets off for Paris, offers his services to the French Institute, and hurls his vengeance, in the shape of a vituperative pamphlet, at the head of the ‘African Committee,’ giving vent to his spleen against all their establishments. He asserts ‘that the officers of the service have neither character nor ability, that the governors are mere shop-keepers, that the English uniform is disgraced, the flag insulted, the forts impotent, and the officers in league with the natives of the waterside to cheat those of the inland in trade.’—p. 53.

We cannot stain our pages with the long list of petty frauds, ‘forgery, peculation, embezzlement, theft,’ &c. which Mr. Bowdich has accumulated, and charged indiscriminately on the traders in uniforms, as he calls the officers, and the residents at the different

ferent ports—but, after making every allowance, we see enough, and more than enough in them to be convinced that the whole system is radically bad. A young man appointed as a writer to one of these forts is allowed a nominal salary of £100 a year, part of which is paid him in *goods*, and part in *necessaries*. On the former is laid an advance of sixty or eighty per cent. on the invoice price, and about £100 per cent. on the latter; and as the negroes will take nothing but gold dust in return for vegetables, &c. 'he is compelled to sell his pay by auction to realize a little of it to live upon.' His pay is inadequate to the expense of his mess; 'and thus,' says Mr. Bowdich, 'young men as officers are driven to sell drams to the natives, and to much worse resorts, for a subsistence.'—p. 63.

It appears, therefore, pretty obvious that these establishments of the African Company are neither calculated to prevent, nor even to check, the slave-trade; to improve the character or condition of the natives; nor to inspire them with any degree of respect for the British name. What the amount of the profits on the Company's trade may be, after deducting the annual sum paid to them by the public, we stop not to inquire; but we have heard that the annual value of the gold dust and ivory imported does not exceed £100,000: if trade, therefore, be the object, the money voted by parliament might be diverted, we think, into a better channel. If, as we suppose, the annual bonus is connected with the improvement of the natives, the only attempt that we can discover is in the establishment of a school in Cape Coast Castle, which is attended by about seventy boys; but it appears that, so far from the parents being anxious to send their children, the schoolmaster is obliged to send for them, and sometimes to bring them by force, the parents demanding an *ackie* a week for each child, as a remuneration for the loss of its services. Their ideas on this subject are amusingly singular. One of our surgeons, to save the life of a Fantee boy who had fractured his leg, amputated the limb. When perfectly recovered, the parents brought the boy into the fort, and laying him down in the hall, thus addressed the surgeon: 'As master cut off poor boy's leg, and so spoil poor boy for work, we come to ask master how much he think to give poor boy to keep him.'—p. 116.

To another part of the coast of Africa, under the immediate controul of his Majesty's government, we turn with very different feelings from that we have just left. The zeal, the activity, the good sense and humanity of the governor of Sierra Leone have overcome almost all the difficulties of an ill-chosen situation for the head-quarters of the new colony. By the employment of the redeemed negroes, the woods and swamps have been partially cleared, roads have been cut, villages built, public schools estab-

blished, churches erected, and, in short, the stranger on landing there is most agreeably surprized with the appearance of a contented and industrious population. A neat town by the side of a mountain in the interior, called Regent's town, is rapidly rising; and it deserves to be mentioned that such is the facility with which the negroes receive instruction in the useful arts, that under the direction of a single European the redeemed slaves have completed a handsome church, capable of containing one thousand persons. Here we have another proof of the capacity of the negroes to receive instruction, and to enjoy the benefits of a civilized state of society.

Since, then, the establishment of 'hucksters in uniform' has failed of producing any good purpose, while a neighbouring settlement, under the king's government and king's officers, unconnected with traffic, is producing the most happy effects, we are not disposed to quarrel with Sir James Yeo's suggestion, adopted by Mr. Bowdich, of abandoning all these paltry forts, (which were erected solely for facilitating the purposes of the slave-trade,) with the exception of two,—Cape Coast Castle and Accra—and of placing these under the government of king's officers; manning them with rescued negroes, and with a sufficient force to cause our flag to be respected; 'which would awe the line of coast much more than double the number of the present impotent and disgraceful settlements.' The rest might be let or given up to the free traders, who would then flock to the coast, where, in open market and at reasonable profits, a large demand would probably soon be created by an abundant population in possession of a country rich in valuable products. Then might respectable governors, officers, clergymen, schoolmasters, surveyors be procured, and the whole expense not exceed that which is given, and, as it would appear, thrown away, upon the Company of African merchants: and, by the example of a better and more respectable set of men, who would dedicate their talents and their time to the improvement of the native population, a fair experiment, at least, would be made, to ascertain how far there was a chance of spreading the blessings of civilization among the negroes of the Guinea coast.

We also most cordially concur in Mr. Bowdich's suggestion of endeavouring, at least, to establish residences at the head-quarters of the several chiefs in the interior, for young men of talent, temper and discrimination, to collect and arrange geographical and statistical information, and to extend the field of human knowledge by new discoveries in natural history, which would probably open a wide field for new objects, from the circumstance of its being a part of the globe in the whole circumference of which,

which, excepting on this continent, there is scarcely any land from the seventh to the tenth parallels of latitude.

At the same time there is but too much reason to apprehend, notwithstanding the sanguine expectation of Mr. Bowdich, that the extreme jealousy of the native powers would prevent Europeans from proceeding into the interior. Mr. Hutchinson found it utterly impracticable to get as far as a lake about two days journey from the capital; he found that an idea prevailed that white men would one day have ships upon that lake, and that the country would be conquered; and when Mr. James asked permission to visit a river reported to run at a little distance from Coomassie, the king demanded his reasons. 'Have you no rivers in your own country?' said he, 'and is not the water of your rivers the same as the water of mine?' The attempt, however, is worth making; and should we succeed only in the first instance with the natives of the coast under our immediate protection, the benefits of civilization are so obvious, that they could not fail to spread progressively into the interior. If, however, the two governments of St. Domingo should unite, and the independence of the negroes of that island be once firmly established, the Christian Dahomeans of Hayti would, of all others, we conceive, be the most likely to succeed in the civilization of Africa.

ART. II.—*Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae ab H. Stephano constructus. Editio nova, auctior et emendatior.* Vol. I. Partes I—IV. Londini, in ædibus Valpianis, 1815—1818.

HENRY Stephens complained, in a bad epigram, that his *Thesaurus*, which was a great treasure to others, was none to himself; in other words, that the expenses of his Treasury had impoverished his exchequer. That illustrious, but somewhat fretful, scholar, did not possess the inestimable advantage, which modern authors and editors enjoy, of living in a subscribing age. The art of puffing was then but little understood or practised. Such a thing as a *Prospectus* was never heard of; there were none of those convenient vehicles of literary information, which Mr. Murray and his brethren append to the covers of their periodical publications, by which the intelligence of forthcoming works is dispersed, with incredible swiftness, over every part of the reading world. Of these advantages the publisher of the present edition of the '*Thesaurus*' has availed himself with great success. Indeed, without a certain prospect of liberal support, it would have been an act of the greatest imprudence to undertake a work of such vast labour and expense. And it is highly creditable to the generosity of the learned world, and to their love of Greek literature, that



that they have come forward upon the present occasion with so much spirit and zeal, to promote an undertaking, which has so long been the grand desideratum of every classical scholar. The list of subscribers to this republication (if indeed it deserves the name) amounts to nearly eleven hundred; a number almost, if not altogether, unprecedented in the annals of literature.

Stephens lamented that his *Thesaurus*, when printed, did not sell; Mr. Valpy's is sold before it is printed: this is surely a great improvement in the condition of those, who labour in the mines of learning, and who have too frequently brought up the precious ore for the use of others, without enriching themselves. The great facility, with which subscriptions are now obtained by the publishers of expensive classical works, seems to indicate two things; an increase of national wealth, and a growing taste for ancient literature. The enormous sums of money which are annually expended, not only in projects of public utility, or of Christian benevolence, but upon the luxuries of learning, and the elegancies of art, bespeak an abundance of the means of life, greatly at variance with the picture which is commonly drawn of our national prosperity. And if we are to estimate the present state of ancient learning in this country by the gross and tangible arithmetic of the pounds, shillings, and pence, subscribed for *Delphin*,\* *Regent*, and *Variorum Classics*, we shall be led to form a very exalted notion of the erudition of the age in which we live. Eleven hundred of the nobility, gentry, and clergy, eagerly subscribing their guinea a number (and some their two guineas) for a Greek *Thesaurus*, and feasting upon each *livraison* as it comes out, compose a phalanx of philology, which may be expected to defend the interests of classical literature against all the anti-Hellenists of the day. Our readers perceive that we take it for granted, that all subscribers can and do read the books for which they subscribe. Since, however, it is within the limits of possibility, that some of the proprietors of Mr. Valpy's *Thesaurus* may have been hitherto prevented by sickness, or occupation, or some other cause, from contracting an intimate acquaintance with the work to which they have set their names; we shall perhaps be rendering them an acceptable service, if we institute an examination of the first four numbers of the *Thesaurus*, and inquire how far they will justify us in looking for a complete or, at least, a useful Greek lexicon. An investigation of this kind, we apprehend, falls more peculiarly

\* We allude to a precious scheme of Mr. Valpy's, now in progress, of republishing the very worst edition of the Latin Classics. This indefatigable and zealous printer does not seem to have had the remotest idea, that the value of the original *Delphin* editions consisted almost entirely in their scarcity; a merit which his own publication of course cannot possess. The *Regent Classics* are minute volumes, with short prefaces in bad Latin by a Mr. Carolus Coote.

within our jurisdiction, as literary censors, and protectors-général of the reading world. The editor, who puts forth proposals for publishing by subscription an expensive work, makes a large demand upon the confidence of his subscribers, and pledges his faith to a full and accurate performance of the conditions upon which their support is obtained. A question of property is here, in some measure, mixed up with that of literary merit; independently of the actual and intrinsic worth of the book, the main inquiry is, whether the publisher has fulfilled the just expectations of his subscribers. We propose to notice both heads of inquiry. But, as a fit introduction to our analysis of the work itself, we shall proceed to give a succinct account of Greek lexicography, and of the celebrated scholar, upon the basis of whose extraordinary work the present publication is constructed.

The earliest Greek lexicon, of which we have any knowledge, was not compiled till a period, at which the language itself had been for several ages on the decline. This is the natural order of things. No man thinks of writing a dictionary, till the language, which he intends to illustrate, has become a study; and this is seldom the case, till the golden age of its vigour and purity is gone by; till the phraseology of its original authors has become in some degree obsolete, and the caprice or the ignorance of later writers has diversified and corrupted the inflexions or the significations of words. Another obvious cause of the fact which we have noticed, was the difficulty of forming a collection of the written works of authors. In this respect the scholars of Alexandria enjoyed advantages superior to those of their contemporaries. When libraries were formed, and thrown open to the public, the Greek authors became by degrees more learned, but less original, than their predecessors. Genius, which is most vigorous when it trusts to its own powers, was fettered by a spirit of imitation; and the untranslatable *χρὸς ἀρχαιοπινής*, by which Dionysius expresses that bloom of antique mouldiness which characterizes the best Attic writers, was no longer discernible in the cumbrous pedantry and affected elegance of their successors. Then began the age of scholiasts and lexicographers; illustration took the place of composition; and the most able men of the time were employed in correcting and editing the works of Homer, and of the dramatic writers. These furnished abundant materials for the industry and ingenuity of the tribe of 'brazen-bowelled men,' who marshalled themselves into different bodies, and invaded the various provinces of philology. Some toiled through the thorny anomalies of grammar; some danced after the ignis fatuus of etymology; some expatiated in the flowery paths of mythological history. Of those laborious men, whose works have descended

to

to us only in their titles, it is perhaps unfair to speak in terms of disparagement. But this at least we may venture to assert, that the whole tribe of ancient lexicographers, and historical critics, as Harris terms them, did less towards the elucidation of their own language, than any one of those who have compiled the standard Greek dictionaries since the revival of letters.

The grammarians called by the name of Λέξεις those words, which were remarkable for any peculiarity of form or signification: those which had become obsolete, or obscure; or which were derived from a foreign idiom; or were removed from common phraseology by some dialectic variety, they termed Γλῶσσαι. Hence the different kinds of vocabulary were called *Lexicons*, or *Glossaries*, of which the former is, strictly speaking, a more comprehensive title than the latter. After the decline of Grecian liberty and language, it was natural that many words and phrases should become obsolete, which had been current in the better ages of Attic art and eloquence. These were collected and explained by the grammarians under the above-mentioned titles of Λέξεις and Γλῶσσαι. There were Γλῶσσαι ἱατρικαί, νομικαί, ῥητορικαί, φιλοσοφικαί, θεολογικαί, and Γλῶσσαι βαρβαρικά, Σκυθικά, Περσικά, &c. There were Homeric Lexicons at an early age. One certainly existed, much anterior to that of Apollonius, which we possess,\* in which even the youth of republican Athens had been accustomed to search for elucidations of the great poet. Didymus ὁ χαλκέντερος, amongst the 3500 books which he had written, compiled a Tragic Lexicon; Theo, who wrote scholia on Aratus, and on Apollonius Rhodius, a Comic Lexicon.† Phrynichus wrote a kind of dictionary, containing the more recondite

\* The true title of this work of Apollonius is not that which Villouin has given it, but Λέξεις Ὀμηρικαί, under which name it is cited by Hesychius and by another ancient grammarian. The παλαιὰ λέξις σύμμεκτος is quoted by the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius IV. 973. The Λέξεις Ἱπποκράτειος of Bacchius are quoted by Erotian, p. 11. whose own work had probably the same title. We have the Λέξεις Πλατωνικαί of Timæus. Athenæus cites the Λέξεις συναγωγή of Dorotheus of Ascalon; a work of Parthenius περὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἱστορικοῖς λέξεων, and others with similar titles. The Λέξεις of Diogenianus is mentioned by the Scholiast on Hermogenes (ap. Bast. ad Gregor. p. 241.) the Λέξεις τρωικὴ of Didymus by the compiler of the Lex. Segueri, p. 334. The word Λεξικόν seems to be of a date comparatively modern. Indeed we are not aware of any Greek authority for it more ancient than the Etymologicum Magnum. Hesychius calls his compilation Λέξεις κατὰ στοιχεῖον. It is not unworthy of remark, that there is no classical name for a book of this sort; *lexicon*, *dictionary*, *glossarium*, are all barbarous words. The work of Harpocration is entitled Λεξικόν τῶν δικα ῥητόρων. But Meursius, in his *Lectiones Atticæ*, VI. 2. observes that Suidas has preserved the true title, viz. Λέξεις ἰ ῥητόρων.

† Ruhnken says, 'Comici Lexici nullus editorum scriptorum, quod sciam, mentionem facit.' It is however quoted by Hesychius in his Epistle to Eulogius; by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius IV. 973, and 1614. The Etymologicum Magnum, p. 145, 44, quotes a Comic Lexicon of one Palamedes, Παλαμίδης ἱστορικός ὁ τὸν Κομικὸν Λέξιν συναγαγών. See Hemsterhus. on Aristoph. Plut. p. 98.

and exquisite phrases of the Attic writers, and entitled it *Προπαρασκευὴ Σοφιστικὴ*. Of this we have a very brief epitome, published by Mr. Bekker, in the first volume of his *Anecdota Græca*. Many fragments of the larger work are, we believe, preserved in that portion of a lexicon, which is contained in the same publication, p. 321. and which we suspect to be the same as the Rhetoric Lexicon quoted by the author of the Etymologicon Magnum elsewhere, and also in p. 803, 37. *ὡς εὖρον ἐν ταῖς Λέξεσι τῶν Ῥητόρων*. If not, it contains, at least, many extracts from that Lexicon. Some remains of the Tragic and Comic Lexicons are probably preserved in the *Antiatticista*\* of the same volume, p. 77.

Of the Rhetoric Lexicons, (i. e. those which were devoted to the illustration of the Greek orators,) the best seems to have been that of Pausanias of Cæsarea, so often quoted by Eustathius, and which, for aught we know, may still be in existence.† The extracts which Eustathius has made from it are very curious. Harpocratio's Lexicon of the ten orators is an epitome of a much larger work; it is not, as its title seems to import, confined to explanations of words and phrases used by the ten orators, but contains many illustrations of other writers both in prose and verse. The epitomizer of the original work has omitted most of the examples which Harpocratio had quoted from various authors, and only gives the references. The reader may form some notion of the difference between the original work and the epitome, by comparing Harpocratio v. *Ὀμοῦ*, with the Scholia on Plato, p. 10. ed. Ruhnken. The first person, who reduced into one vocabulary the Homeric, dramatic, and rhetoric lexicons, was Diogenianus, a celebrated grammarian, who lived in the time of Adrian. Julius Pollux, in the reign of Commodus, compiled his *Ὀνομαστικόν*, a vast, but ill arranged collection of names and terms, chiefly estimable for the fragments of ancient poets which it contains, especially in the tenth book. The most valuable edition of this Lexicon is that of Hemsterhuys; but it is the production of Hemsterhuys while a young man, and at a time when he had paid no great attention to the subject of the Greek metres. In consequence of this, the metrical fragments in Pollux received but little benefit from his me-

\* We have another *Antiatticista* published by Villosion, in the second volume of his *Anecdota Græca*. As our classical reader has probably often seen this title in the publications of modern philologues, it may be well to inform him of its meaning. The *Ἀντιαττικαὶ* were in Greek, what the *Ciceroniani* were amongst modern latinists. They scrupulously avoided and exploded every word, which was not strictly Attic. The natural consequence was, that they condemned many, which had been used by ancient and classical writers, who had been much better judges of Atticism than themselves. The object of the *Antiatticista* was, to cite authorities for those expressions which these hypercritical and fastidious grammarians had condemned.

† It is found in a Catalogue of Scipio Tettio, a Neapolitan, inserted by Labbe in his *Novæ Bibliotheca MSS.* p. 171. See Morhof. p. 801.

*dica manus.* He was made sensible of his deficiency in this respect by two kind and masterly letters from Bentley, who justly observes, (and he himself was a splendid instance of the truth of his observation,) that to the skilful metrician, versed in the niceties of prosody, and in the legitimate measures of Greek verse, many corrections will be natural and easy, which to others, who are destitute of this science, will be utterly unattainable.

We must not omit the *Lexica Hippocratea*, which contained explanations of the more remarkable words used by the Father of Medicine. Of these, several have perished, viz. those of Xenocritus the Coan, Callimachus the physician, Baccchius of Tanagra, Philinus the Empiric, Epicleustus of Crete, Apollonius, Dioscorides, and others. Two only have survived the general wreck of ancient literature, those of Erotian and Galen. It seems uncertain, whether the former of these authors be not the same with the celebrated Herodianus. His glossary is valuable, from the numerous references which he makes to the *scripta deperdita* of ancient authors. The neatest edition of both glossaries is that of H. Stephens; but the best is that of Franzius, Lips. 1780. Neither of them can be used with advantage by the student who does not consult the *Oeconomia Hippocratis* of the learned and accurate Foesius. To these we must add the *Λέξεις Πλατωνικαί* of Timæus, to which Ruhnken has improperly prefixed the unauthorised Greek title of *Λεξικὸν περὶ τῶν παρὰ Πλάτωνι λεγόντων*.

Besides these, we may enumerate the Attic glossaries of Moeris, and Thomas Magister\*; and Moschopolus; the short works of Ammonius (or Symeon,) and Eranius (or Herennius Philo) on the different significations of words; the Lexicons, and fragments of Lexicons, published by Valckenaer at the end of Ammonius, and by Hermann at the end of his treatise on Greek Grammar; not to mention the numerous glossaries of words occurring in the sacred writings, and a variety of unpublished Lexicons, which exist in different libraries both in England and on the continent. One of the most important of the ancient vocabularies is that which is commonly called the *Etymologicon Magnum*; the compiler of which is unknown, but is supposed by some to have been a grammarian of the name of Magnus. The opinion of Thomasius and others, who suspected that Marcus Musurus, or the two Calliergi compiled this work, is sufficiently refuted by the fact, that it is quoted by Eustathius under the title of *τὸ μέγα ἐτυμολογικόν*.

\* This 'most wise monk,' as he is styled in the MSS. is sometimes called Master Thomas, and sometimes Master Theodulus, which, however, seems to be only his adoptive name; for he is called in one MS. also *Κρηθούλας*. The name of Moschopolus of itself bespeaks his recent date: names compounded of *παιδης*, a corruption of *παιδης*, a son, were common in the later ages of the Greek empire, and are so still.

The date of this compilation is placed by Sylburgius in the tenth century. It certainly cannot be referred to a higher era, since its author quotes Theognotus, who lived in the ninth century. It is very valuable from the numerous extracts which it contains of older grammarians, some of whose works are still extant in manuscript; e. g. the Etymologicon of Orus the Milesian (*MSS. Bibl. Reg. Neapol.* 179.) and of Orion the Theban, which the late Dr. Burney had intended to publish from a MS. in the King's library at Paris. Isaac Vossius possessed an ancient MS. of the Etymologicon Magnum, which went, with his other books, to the university of Leyden. Whether it be still in the valuable library there, we are unable to say. Morhof speaks of it as *codex longe antiquissimus*, but Colomies describes it as 'Etymologicon μέγα longe auctius edito, et alius, ut videtur, auctoris.' Considerable expectations had been excited amongst scholars, by a notice which Kulenkamp published in 1765, of a MS. etymologicon formerly in the possession of Marquardus Gudius. The entire Lexicon has lately been printed at Leipzig, upon wretched paper, and turns out to be a very worthless farrago of etymological nonsense; useful only so far, as it serves to correct some passages of other Lexicons.

We come now to the celebrated Lexicon of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople; which the author himself entitled *Λεξικὸν συναγωγῆς*. Of this there are various MSS. in different libraries on the continent; all of which are transcripts, one or more degrees removed, from a very ancient copy on parchment, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It is well known to English scholars, that Porson had transcribed this Lexicon for the press a second time, his first copy having been destroyed by a fire at the printer's. His last transcript is now in the possession of the learned society of Trinity College, who will, we doubt not, in due time, communicate it to the literary world. The Lexicon itself has been published from two very incorrect copies by Mr. Hermann, and appended as a third volume to the ill-digested and ponderous collection of words entitled the Lexicon of Zonaras; a compiler not older than the 12th century. The work of Photius is made up from more ancient grammarians, especially from Harpocratio, the Scholiasts on Plato, and the dramatic and rhetoric Lexicons. It is unfortunately mutilated; there being an hiatus from *Ἀδιάκριτος* to *Ἐπιώνυμοι*, and another from *Φορητῶς* to *Ψιλεύς*, besides smaller lacunæ.

By far the most important of all the ancient Lexicons is that of Hesychius, a grammarian of uncertain age, conjectured by Fabricius to have been the same with Hesychius of Alexandria, who published an edition of the Greek Bible in the third century. It

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was the opinion of Scaliger, which has been adopted by most scholars, that we have only an epitome of the original work, the quotations being omitted.\* Of the numerous faults by which this Lexicon is disfigured, Bentley thought that a great part were attributable to the carelessness or ignorance of the compiler himself. The same great critic assured Dr. Mills, that if a new edition of Hesychius should be put forth in his time, he would undertake to correct more than five thousand faults, which had eluded the sagacity of former critics. This valuable Lexicon is a compilation from a vast variety of sources; and of course must be used by the student with great caution and discrimination. It was first printed by Aldus in 1514, from the only MS. known to exist, which was written about the year 1400. The edition was superintended by Marcus Musurus, who liberally interpolated the original with his own additions and corrections. In 1792, N. Schow published a collation of the original MS. with the edition of Musurus; and in quoting from Hesychius it is essentially necessary to compare the printed text with this publication. It seems highly probable, from the observations which Schow has made, and indeed from the nature of the thing itself, that in the older MSS. this Lexicon existed in a much smaller form; and that the numerous biblical glosses with which it now abounds, were introduced by degrees from the margin. It is much to be wished, that some laborious scholar would undertake a new edition of Hesychius, in which the text should be given precisely as it stands in the Codex Marcianus, (not from Schow, who, it appears, has made many mistakes in deciphering the *compendia*), with the corrections of Musurus and subsequent scholars, and a selection of notes from the splendid publication of Alberti and Ruhnken. A great number of emendations are to be drawn from the works of grammarians, published subsequently to the appearance of that edition.

We come next to the dictionary of Suidas, a Christian monk, who lived about the eleventh century. It differs materially from all the other ancient Lexicons, as it contains biographical notices of celebrated authors, and large extracts from their works, principally, however, from those of a date comparatively modern. We find here many fragments of a lost treatise of Aelian on Providence. A very considerable portion of this work is taken from the Lexicons of Harpocratio and Photius, and Joannes Damascenus, and the

\* Scaligerana, p. 157. It is curious to see how differently the two first critics that ever lived speak of the same book: 'Hesychius,' says Scaliger, 'est un très bon auteur. Nous n'avons que l'Epitome; les citations sont omises.'—'Hesychius,' says Bentley, 'auctor exigua fide, quique ex mendosis codicibus infinita desumpsit.' Hemsterhuys defended Hesychius against this charge: but Bentley did not make it without sufficient grounds; and upon reconsidering the matter, Hemsterhuys gave up his client.



scholia on Aristophanes and Sophocles. It contains a great deal of valuable information on the civil and literary antiquities of Greece, especially on the history of the drama, which is not to be found elsewhere. It is worthy of observation, that the celebrated Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln in 1235, made a complete Latin version of Suidas, which is mentioned by Matthew Paris; and after him by Bale. We know not whether this translation be extant; but we are inclined to suspect that it extended no farther than to those portions of the Lexicon which relate to ecclesiastical history. It is to be lamented that the illustrious Bishop Pearson did not carry into execution his design of republishing Suidas; an edition from the hands of so profound and sagacious a scholar would have been greatly superior to that which is now the most voluminous, and in some respects the best, published by Kuster, at Cambridge, in 1705. By an extraordinary instance of negligence, Kuster adopted the faulty and mutilated text of Æmiliius Portus, instead of taking for his basis the Milan edition of 1499, which every critical scholar must consult. There is a very valuable MS. of this lexicon in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, of which Porson has given some specimens, and with which we expect that the learned world will soon be made better acquainted by the labours of Professor Gaisford. There are extant in MS. many lexicons, coinciding in part with Suidas, some of them indeed professing to be *παρεμβολαὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Σουῖδα*, which should be consulted by a future editor of this vocabulary. They are to be found, not only in the continental libraries, but in those of our two universities, and in one or two private collections in this country, the contents of which are not generally known.

We have now enumerated all the existing lexicons, which were composed before the downfall of the Grecian name and language; except the glossaries of Cyril, Philoxenus, &c. and the more recent ones of Michael Psellus, Macarius, and others of the Greek monks. The Greek and Latin glossaries, the best of which have been published by Labbé and Stephens, were composed under the Byzantine emperors, for the mutual accommodation of their Greek and Latin subjects; and it was at this period that the term *glossarium* was first used to denote a dictionary in general. But all of these, even if digested into one vocabulary, would supply but a very imperfect lexicon, since they are for the most part taken up in the explanation of words and phrases, remarkable for some peculiarity of usage, inflexion, or dialect, and rarely quote authorities for the common signification of words; one reason of which obviously was, that the compilers of these glossaries were themselves Greeks, and of course familiar with the common acception

ception of ordinary terms. It is much to be regretted, that we do not possess the great lexicon of Helladius, who lived under Theodosius the younger. It was divided into seven volumes, and was probably the chief source from which Suidas compiled his vocabulary.\*

We now proceed to consider the useful and laborious works, by which those eminent scholars, who lived after the revival of ancient literature, endeavoured to clear the way to a knowledge of the inexhaustible riches of the Greek language. Of the difficulty of compiling the first dictionary of a dead language, we can hardly form a conception, who have always been accustomed to pursue our studies with the accumulated knowledge of our predecessors to guide us in our researches. We have more reason to wonder at the perseverance and vast erudition of the restorers of Grecian literature, than to be surprized at their occasional mistakes and oversights. At the same time we must take an opportunity of observing, that the only method of obtaining an accurate and extensive knowledge of any language, is to study it with as little use of the dictionary as possible; to discover the exact signification and propriety of words, by a comparison of different passages, and to interpret authors by themselves. This may serve to account for the rare occurrence, in these degenerate times, of such scholars as Stephens, Scaliger, and Casaubon, who learned the ancient languages from authors, and not from dictionaries. 'There were giants upon the earth in those days.' It is now an easy matter to obtain a competent and comfortable knowledge of Greek, by the help of a Scapula or a Schneider; but where is the man, who has resolution enough to launch out into the depths of erudition, and to swim without corks? 'Aujourd'hui,' said Scaliger, 'il est bien aisé d'estre bon Grec et Hebreu, car tout est tourné: mais pour sçavoir la naïfveté, le genie, il faut bien estudier, et peu de gens l'entendent.' The best method of acquiring an enlarged acquaintance with the ancient languages, is, to read a certain number of authors entirely through, or at least a greater portion of their works; making for each author a separate vocabulary, or index of remarkable phrases; by a comparison of which with one another, we may quickly arrive at an exact and comprehensive knowledge of the genius of the language. We mention this with some degree of earnestness, because at most, if not all of our public schools, the time of the higher classes is frittered away, in reading short extracts from a multiplicity of ancient authors, differing almost as much in language and style as in age. One Greek play, half a book of Herodotus, one oration of Demosthenes, a little Xenophon, and some

\* A more detailed account of the ancient vocabularies is given by Maussacus in his learned *Dissertatio Critica*.

Theocritus, constitute the usual course of Greek reading for youths from sixteen to eighteen years of age. We strenuously recommend the perusal of an entire author, when his works are of moderate dimensions. A boy will learn more Greek from reading the whole of Homer, and the whole of Herodotus, than from the studied variety of the *Scriptores*, and *Poetæ Græci*, and the useful *Collectanea* of the respectable Professor Dalzel. Another improvement, which we take the liberty of suggesting to the superintendants of our great schools is, that they should discard the compendious and imperfect lexicons which are commonly used, and put into the hands of their scholars the more important vocabularies of Constantine, Scapula, and perhaps of Hederic. We now proceed to give a brief account of the most important Greek Lexicons which preceded the great work of H. Stephens.

Guarino of Favera, a place near Camerino in Umbria, better known under the Latin name of *Varinus Phavorinus Camers*, a scholar of Joannes Lascaris and of Angelus Politianus, a Benedictine monk, and a bishop at the time of the Lateran council in 1516, published a massive dictionary, in Greek, in which the harder words are explained by the easier. It is a compilation from Hesychius, Suidas, Phrynichus, Harpocratio, Eustathius, the *Etymologica*, the *Lexicon* of Philemon, some treatises of Trypho, Apollonius, and other grammarians, and various scholiasts. It is valuable, as furnishing several important corrections of the authors from whom it was collected, and not a few extracts from unpublished grammarians.

The first Greek and Latin Dictionary was compiled by a Carmelite Friar of Piacenza, named Joannes Crastonus. It was little more than a bare vocabulary, giving merely the significations of the words, without referring to authorities. It was frequently reprinted, and with continual additions by each succeeding publisher; 'till at length,' says H. Stephens, 'unlearned printers, contending who should put forth the biggest lexicon, and offering rewards to those who would furnish the greatest number of words, the explanations, which were, in the first instance, so meagre, became as fat as a Bœotian sow.'

A Greek and Latin Lexicon was printed at Venice by Aldus, in 1497, and more than once reprinted with additions. Nicolas Beraldu put forth another at Paris in 1521, which was republished with large augmentations, at Venice, in 1524. The dictionary of Jacobus Ceratinus, printed at Basle in the same year, was recommended by a preface of Erasmus.

All these vocabularies were greatly inferior, both in extent and accuracy, to the *Commentarii Græcæ Lingue* of Budæus, the restorer of ancient literature in France, who was born in 1467; a man  
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of rank, and maître des requêtes to the king. He was the friend and literary rival of Erasmus, to whom he was greatly superior in his knowledge of Greek. Janus Lascaris declared him equal to an ancient Athenian; and Scaliger used to say, in his dry and conclusive manner, 'nunquam erit in Gallia alter Budæus.\*' His *Commentarii* were first printed at Paris in 1529; then at Basle in 1530, and enlarged by more than one third in 1548, at the press of Robert Stephens. This great work of Budæus has been the text book and common storehouse of succeeding lexicographers. But a great objection to its general use was its want of arrangement. His observations on the Greek language are thrown together in the manner of a common place book, an inconvenience, which is imperfectly remedied by an alphabetical index at the end. His authorities and illustrations are chiefly drawn from the prose writers of Greece; the historians, orators, and fathers. With the poets he seems to have had a less intimate acquaintance. His interpretations are mostly correct, and always elegantly expressed; displaying a union of Greek and Latin literature, which renders his commentaries equally useful to the students of both languages. It was not without justice that Buchanan complimented him in the following epigram;—

Gallia quod Græca est; quod Græcia barbara non est,  
Utraque Budæo debet utrumque suo.

The peculiar value of this work consists in the full and exact account, which it gives, of the Greek legal and forensic terms, both by literal interpretation, and by a comparison of the corresponding terms in Roman jurisprudence. So copious and exact is this department of the work, that no student can read the Greek orators to the best advantage, unless he consults the Commentaries of Budæus. It appears, from the Greek epistle subjoined to the work, that the illustration of the forensic language of Athens and Rome, was originally all that his plan embraced; and that when circumstances tempted him to extend the limits of his work, this still continued to be his chief object.

In 1551, a work, somewhat similar to that of Budæus, was published at Basle, by Joachim Camerarius, under the following title; *Commentarii utriusque linguæ, in quibus est diligens exquisitio nominum, quibus partes corporis humani appellari solent, additis et eorum functionum nomenclaturis, et aliis his accedentibus, positis fere contra se Græcis et Latinis vocabulis.*

\* Several incidents are related, descriptive of his great attachment to study: amongst others, that he stole three hours of his wedding-day, and devoted them to Greek. Bayle makes it a doubtful point, whether his application injured his health; but we have his own express testimony to the fact, in the Greek epistle subjoined to the *Commentarii*.

Camerarius studied Greek at Leipzig under Richard Croke, an Englishman, of whom he speaks in terms of commendation, as having been the first person, who taught that language in Germany with any degree of perspicuity or comprehensiveness. Soon afterwards appeared the Basle Lexicon, under the names of Budeus, Tusanus, Conrad Gesner, Hartungus, Hadrian Junius, R. Constantine, and Joachim Hopper : but it was no better than a bookseller's publication, abounding in faults and inaccuracies of every description. H. Stephens says of it, that scarcely any kind of blunder can be mentioned, or imagined, of which this lexicon will not furnish an example. He has himself given a tolerably copious list, in his epistle *de sua Typographiæ statu*.

Robert Constantine, who published a valuable Lexicon, alphabetically arranged, in two volumes folio, at Geneva, 1562, was a physician of Caen, and an intimate friend of Beza and the elder Scaliger ; but personally disliked by Joseph Scaliger, who calls him an ass, and charges him with impudence, commending, at the same time, his own modesty. As a useful and correct Dictionary, this work of Constantine greatly surpassed all that had preceded it ; and it is still deservedly in request amongst students, for the valuable interpretations which it furnishes of many passages in the Greek prose writers, especially Thucydides. Its author lived to the advanced age of one hundred and three, retaining to his death all his bodily and mental faculties ; and died at last of a pleurisy ; a singular disorder in a person at so advanced an age, which also proved fatal to Bentley. Constantine promised to publish a table, or conspectus, in which the Greek language should be traced to its primitives ; but he never executed his intention. The Stephenses were much indebted to Constantine, from whose lexicon a very great proportion of the explanations and authorities of the *Thesaurus* are borrowed. The principal defects in his book are, first, the confused and ill-digested arrangement of the interpretations of words ; and secondly, the absence of all distinction between primitives and derivatives.

The first person who published a lexicon in alphabetical order, in which the derivation, not only of separate words, but of the inflexions of verbs, and the cases of nouns, and the dialectic varieties were marked out, was Cornelius Schrevelius, in the year 1654. This dictionary was republished by Joseph Hill, in 1663, with the addition of 5000 words. In 1676 William Robertson published a very enlarged edition of Schrevelius, under the title of '*Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae* in epitomen sive compendium redactus, et alphabetice, secundum Constantini methodum et Schrevelii, reseratus.' He professed to have added to the edition of Hill about 80,000 Greek words. His dedication to the masters  
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of the public schools in London is one of the most curious specimens of the Canusian dialect which are any where to be found,\* and begins with a bit of bad Greek; to say nothing of the Latin. This book, which is now scarce, was decidedly the most useful manual for students, till the appearance of Benjamin Hederic's *Lexicon*, which was augmented by Samuel Patrick, much improved by J. A. Ernesti, and which has been recently reprinted, with some thousand additions from the papers of Larcher, the celebrated French scholar. But even this is far inferior to the *Kritisches Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch* of Schneider, of which the second and improved edition was published at Jena, in 1805. In this enumeration we have anticipated the regular chronological order. We now revert to the 16th century, and to the great work which is the more immediate subject of this article.

Henri Etienne, whose name being latinized, according to the custom of that age, into Stephanus, has amongst English scholars degenerated into Stephens, was the son of Robert Etienne, and the grandson of Henri, one of the earliest French printers, and, by the mother's side, of Josse Bade of Asc, better known to book collectors by the name of Badius Ascensius. He was born at Paris, in the year 1528, and grew enamoured of Greek at a very early age, in consequence of seeing some boys act the *Medea* of Euripides. His father caused him to be instructed in Greek before he had learned Latin; a plan of teaching which Henry Stephens himself always recommended, and which ought, in our opinion, to be generally adopted. While yet a boy, his skill in calligraphy was so remarkable, that he was thought to rival the Greek writing of Angelo Vegezio, the Cretan, who gave the models for the beautiful types, which were at that time used in the King's printing-office at Paris. Having spent some time, and not a little money, in visiting the scholars and the libraries of Italy, and in collecting manuscripts, he paid a visit to England in the year 1550, and at London went to see the lions in the Tower, one of whom danced a jig while a man fiddled; an incident which he afterwards employed to justify the well-known story of Arion and the dolphin. He began his typographical career in 1554, in the 26th year of his age; and continued it for the space of more than forty years; during which time he printed a prodigious number of ancient authors, many of them from manuscripts, exercising at the same time the office of a learned and ingenious, though somewhat bold critic. His claim to the title of the most learned of

\* *ἡμετέριον τὸν opellam meam penitus elusurus essem, καὶ δόξαζον τὸ ἔλαττον προτιῆναι εἶναι δλοφμενικ;* si vel vos, *ἐν τῇ τάξει ἡμῶν* jamjam illustrissimos, *ἐπαποτιμῆς λόγους,* ἢ *ἡγκαιροστυμῆς,* celebrare coveat: vel si τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσας, *seculorum πολλῶν* retroactorum experientia comprobata, &c. *παρογορημῆς* attentare ulterius efferre.



printers, no one pretends to dispute; few scholars, since the revival of letters, have succeeded in contracting so great a familiarity with the Greek language as Henry Stephens. Subsequent critics have discovered and pointed out many of its beauties and peculiarities, with which he was perhaps unacquainted; but for a general and comprehensive knowledge of its construction, and for an almost vernacular intimacy with it, Stephens is nearly unrivalled. The only person, perhaps, who can be put in competition with him in this respect, was his son-in-law, the celebrated and excellent Isaac Casaubon. His editions of the classical authors, when compared with those of former printers, are highly valuable for their accuracy, and from the circumstance of their having been, in most instances, either printed from, or collated with, manuscripts. In the year 1572, he published his *Thesaurus Græcæ Linguae*, a work which had been planned, and in part executed, many years before, by his father, but the completion of which was reserved for the son; and it may be doubted whether there exists a more stupendous monument of human industry and learning. It appears to have been eleven years in printing; the same time which Robert Stephens had employed in the publication of his Latin *Thesaurus*. In the following year he printed, in a separate volume, two glossaries, which, although not a part of the *Thesaurus*, are to be considered, together with his *Animadversions* and the *Treatise on the Attic dialect*, as an Appendix and completion of the work. A second edition was published, probably about the year 1580. To this eminent man belongs the praise of having been the first to point out, however imperfectly, the roots of the Greek language; and to reduce them to their derivatives and compounds.

The profit to which Stephens might justly look, as a well-deserved remuneration for the labour of so many years, is said to have been intercepted by the treachery of one Joannes Scapula (*Jean Epau*, we suppose) who published an *Epitome* of the *Thesaurus* in the year 1579. The account commonly given of this transaction is, that Scapula, being employed by Stephens as a corrector of the press, during the publication of his *Thesaurus*, extracted the most important words and explanations, comprized them in one volume, and published them under his own name. In consequence of this notion, the memory of poor Scapula has been loaded with reproach. It does not, however, appear, from any complaint of Stephens himself, that Scapula was guilty of a breach of trust; since it is probable that he had quitted his employment, long before the completion of the *Thesaurus*; and as his *Lexicon* was not published till seven years after it, we see no reason to doubt the fact of his having epitomized the *Thesaurus* itself. This is all which is laid



laid to his charge by Stephens; an act indeed of ingratitude, and to a certain degree of dishonesty, but not quite so bad as to deserve the appellation of 'gross disingenuity and fraud.' Scapula himself declares, that he had been for several years occupied about his plan, when he met with the *Thesaurus*. 'In hoc opere absolvendo quum plurimum temporis contrivissem (remorante me partim operis ipsius prolixitate, partim functione mea, partim denique privatis occupationibus) *incidi forte* in *Thesaurum* ab Henr. Stephano constructum: cujus sola inscriptione lecta, existimavi me actum egisse.' Is it possible that any man could be impudent enough to write the foregoing sentence, who had been himself employed in printing the *Thesaurus*? The fact is, that some years after the publication of that great work, Scapula himself carried a specimen of his *Epitome* to Stephens, who, as might be expected, found great fault with it, 'multa reprehensione digna habere ostendit, seque suam pecuniam in meliores merces velle collocare dixit,'\* from which expression it may seem that Stephens was applied to with a view to his printing the book. Scapula appeared to acknowledge his own incompetency, but still persisted in completing the work. This is the account which Stephens himself has given of the transaction. Malinkrot speaks indeed of the fraud and deception '*ministri seu adjuvæ sui Scapulæ;*' but if it be ascertained, as it now appears to be, that the *Thesaurus* was reprinted about the year 1580, we may fairly doubt, whether the effect of Scapula's *Epitome* was so ruinous to Stephens as it is represented to have been. At all events, it did not produce the immediate consequence of bankruptcy, which is stated, in the biographical dictionaries, to have followed the publication of the *Thesaurus*; for, not to mention that he received, in 1578, a *douceur* of 3000 livres, and an order for a pension of 300 livres, from Henri III., it appears that in 1579 he obtained a privilege for the exclusive publication of the Greek and Latin historians; and that he possessed a country house, which was burnt down in 1585. The real causes of the confusion into which his affairs fell, were the civil wars which followed the death of Henri III. Whatever may have been the occasion of his distress, the melancholy fact is, that this indefatigable printer and eminent scholar died in an hospital at Lyons in 1598, in a state of poverty and mental imbecility. We may collect from several incidents which are related in the correspondence of his son-in-law Isaac Casaubon, and Joseph Scaliger, that he was of an irritable, jealous and ungenerous disposition.

A principal and just cause of offence on the part of Scapula

\* *Admonitio Præfix.* Posterior, edit. Thes. Maittaire Vit. Steph. p. 356.

pula was his disingenuousness, in publishing his lexicon as an original work, and in depreciating the *Thesaurus*, of which it was an epitome. But on this head Stephens himself is by no means exempt from reproach. He has frequently been charged with converting to his own advantage and profit the labours of others. There is no doubt, that a great part of the materials of his *Thesaurus* had been collected and bequeathed to him by his father—in fact, Stephens himself confesses it; and it is stated that his pupil F. Sylburgius assisted him so effectually in that laborious work, that the greater part of it is to be assigned to him. Indeed it bears much plainer marks of the sagacity and erudition of Sylburgius, than of the desultory and hasty studies of his master. Yet so avaricious was he of exclusive praise, that he makes no mention of the co-operation of Sylburgius, a scholar no less remarkable for his modesty than for his extensive learning and exact judgment.

With regard to the *Thesaurus* itself, there are three things to be remarked. First, that the examples of words were collected by the various contributors to the work, some from printed editions of authors, some from MSS. some from memory, some from conjectural correction. Secondly, that several Greek authors, especially grammarians, have been published since the compilation of the *Thesaurus*, containing many words of which the existence was not then known. Thirdly, the science of etymology, which H. Stephens took for his guide in the arrangement of his lexicon, was then in its infancy; and indeed the genius of the language itself was but imperfectly understood. These considerations will point out to us the nature and cause of the leading defects, conspicuous in this great work; viz. inaccurate or falsified quotations, the deficiency of several thousand words, and a wrong classification, both of primitives and derivatives.\* It was not till the age of Hemsterhuys, that the analogies of the Greek language were developed with any degree of clearness or consistency. At the same time, we ought rather to be surprized, that Stephens, under existing disadvantages, accomplished so much, even in this department, than that he left so much undone. Certain, however, it is, that an irregular and unphilosophical arrangement of the derivatives under their supposed primitives, renders the *Thesaurus* most inconvenient, even to the advanced scholar, and to the youthful student almost worse than

\* Olaus Borrichius, in his *Disputatio de Lexicorum Latinorum fejunitate*, p. 12. says that there are three desiderata in the *Thesaurus* of Stephens: 1. that many words are omitted; 2. that many remains of ancient literature have been published since; 3. that many significations of words are neglected. But this is a very imperfect enumeration of the defects of this lexicon, as we shall hereafter show.

useless.

useless. In this respect the lexicon of Scapula is vastly more serviceable, both from its greater simplicity, and more moderate dimensions. For a *Thesaurus*, which should contain a comprehensive view of the language, the plan which Stephens pursued, is, in its general outlines, undoubtedly the best. The most philosophical arrangement is, to class the primitives alone in alphabetical order, and to range each family of words under its respective head. This is the method pursued in natural philosophy; lay the basis first, and deduce from it all the varieties, which are produced by an alteration in the disposition of its constituent parts, or by the admixture of extraneous substances. But this is far more difficult in philology than in chemistry. The primitives of a language are for the most part to be discovered only by conjecture and analogical reasoning. The richness and variety of the derivatives and compounds, threw by degrees the simpler forms into disuse; and oftentimes it is only by unravelling and separating the former, that the latter can be extricated. The Greek language, as it has descended to us in the monuments of ancient literature, contains but a small number of radical and original words: the investigation and arrangement of these roots was reserved for the diligence and sagacity of Hemsterhuys and Valckenaer, who were enabled by the help of analogy, which in some instances, perhaps, they have pursued too far, to ascend through the derivatives, to a great number of primitives which no longer exist.

It is obvious, that in the application of analogy, a plausible but oftentimes fallacious ground of reasoning, to the science of etymology, the greatest caution and moderation are requisite: and it is in this respect, that almost all, who have turned their thoughts to this department of grammar, have failed. Etymologists have always had too great a propensity to generalize and classify, without making due allowance for the anomalies and incidental varieties of language. In attempting to refer every word to its primitive, they have forgotten that a considerable portion of most languages, and certainly of the Greek, was imported, in secondary and compound words, from the dialects of other people. It is altogether surprizing to hear such a scholar as Valckenaer talking of the 'primitive significations stamped upon words by the philosophical founders of the Greek tongue;' when we have every reason to conclude, from all that we know of early Grecian history, that the language of that people, originally differing very greatly in different districts, was gradually refined from barbarism by the operation of a commercial intercourse with the Asiatic nations; and enriched by the admixture of foreign words. That many primitives of the ancient Pelasgic tongue may still be traced, particularly

larly in verbs of the sixth conjugation, (according to the old classification,) and in verbs in  $\mu$ , we are ready to allow; but considering the natural growth and progress of the language of a people, situate as the Greeks were, we are by no means disposed to assent to the position of Valckenaer, that 'the trunk of a language always remains the same; that the primitives may always be elicited by the help of analogy; that those which no longer exist, may be restored, and the defects of the lexicons supplied.\*' Be this, however, as it may, one thing is certain; that the science of etymology had made but little progress amongst the scholars of the sixteenth century, and was imperfectly understood by Stephens, and even by Sylburgius, who was much more clear-sighted than his tutor. We must not, however, attribute to Stephens the merit of having been the first to devise an arrangement of the Greek language, with reference to its primitives; the same thing had been conceived, and perhaps in part executed by Constantine; and it was from his father Robert that Henry Stephens took the idea.

It is justly observed by Lennep, that Stephens paid too much deference to the absurdities of the ancient grammarians, overlooking the true and simple analogy of the language. In consequence of which, he frequently considers those words as primitives, which are in reality derivatives; oftentimes he refers the derivatives themselves to roots, with which they have nothing to do; in almost every instance he confounds the proper and metaphorical significations of words; so that the primary and original meaning from which all the others ought to be deduced, is put in the last place. Let us not, however, be understood to detract from the acknowledged and substantial merits of this great lexicographer, even in etymology; to appreciate which, as they deserve, it is only necessary to compare his labours with those of the ancient grammarians. The ancient etymologists seem to have had no system. It is true that there is a great deal of system discoverable in the speculations of the ablest grammarians—Apollonius Dyscolus for example—upon the parts of speech and their construction; but in etymology, they seem to have been wide abroad. It was natural, however, that Stephens should defer to their authority. This he has done in many instances too implicitly, while in others he has not attended to it so much as he should have done. He has admitted no primitives into his lexicon, but such as he had met with in ancient authors, whereas he might with propriety have imitated the old grammarians in the adoption of dissyllable verbs, which are not indeed to be found in any author, but which we

\* Obs. ad Origines Græcæ, pp. 37. 40.

may conclude, from analogy, to have existed in the Greek language in its earlier state. Amidst all the absurdities of the ancient etymologists, we find a variety of observations, which are of great value and importance to those who are desirous of analysing the composition of the language; and considering the share which Sylburgius, who was intimately conversant with their works, had in the compilation of the *Thesaurus*, it is matter of some surprize, that these observations were so little attended to in the classification of words. For instance, we find in the *Etymologicon Magnum*, p. 307. 50. the following extract from some ancient and acute grammarian; τὸ δὲ ΕΙΜΙ, τὸ ὑπάρχω, τετάρτης ἐστὶ συζυγίας τῶν εἰς μί. καὶ γίνεταί ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκτῆς τῶν βαρυτόνων. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔω, τὸ ὑπάρχω, παραγωγὸν ἐμὶ· καὶ ἔπει τὰ εἰς μί φύσει μακρὰ παραλήγεται, πλεονάζει τὸ ἱ, καὶ γίνεταί ἐμὶ. Now the same observation is made by Sylburgius, in his observations on verbs in *μι*; yet in the *Thesaurus* we find *εἰμί* given as a primitive. A great many instances of the same kind might be quoted; from which it appears, that Stephens was resolved not to admit any word into his vocabulary, whose existence was conjectural; a rule which precludes those fanciful speculations in which etymology loves to indulge; but which is utterly subversive of all system, to him who is desirous of giving an etymological lexicon. Besides, in the instance before us, as in many others, there was actual authority for the primitive form, not only in the regular participle *ἔων*, and the future *ἔσομαι*, but in the imperfectum *ἔον* II. ψ. 643. Again, we have *γνέω* as a primitive, although Eustathius mentions the simpler form *γῶ* (*γάω*) which exists with a slight alteration in the Homeric *γαίω*. *Λαμβάνω* is set down as a primitive, although we have the simpler form *λάμβω* in Herodotus, and abundant traces of *λήβω*; but all these forms, together with *λάζω*, and a variety of others, should clearly have been ranged under the primitive *λάω*, which still exists in the Doric *λῶ*, *I take or choose*. Thus, too, *λάγχω* is made a primitive, although we have the future *λάξεσθαι* in Herodotus, and the derivative *λαῖξις*, and the indefinite *ἐλαχον*. These few instances, out of thousands, occur to us as we turn over the pages of the *Thesaurus*.

We are sensible that the greatest caution must be exercised, in adopting unauthorized forms of primitive words; that is to say, those forms for which there is no positive authority in the remaining works of the older Greek authors. We consider it, however, to be a sufficient authority for the reception of a primitive *thema*, if we find its regular tenses preserved in the later form of the language; as it is certainly safe to assume the existence of a noun, if we find its oblique cases still existing. For even if the supposed primitive did never actually exist, its existence was supposed by

those who received into use the tenses regularly formed from it; and therefore there can be no objection to the adopting of it as a radix, if by so doing we can preserve the consistency and uniformity of the language.

Again, when we have thus adopted real or imaginary primitive forms, still more caution is necessary in tracing their derivatives. Valckenaer, who perhaps had a clearer insight into the whole of this question than any other scholar, pursued his favourite system with the zeal of a partial friend; Lennep pushed its consequences still farther; the learned and excellent Bishop Burges was misled by it, in his Appendix to the *Miscellanea Critica* of Dawes, and Everard Scheide, the editor of Lennep, has gambolled in etymology at a most surprising rate. But a greater number of primitives might with safety be assumed by a learned and judicious lexicographer, care being taken to distinguish hypothetical roots from those which are actually in existence.

Another class of errors is that, by which the natural order of words is inverted, and the primitives are classed under their derivatives. For instance, *ἐταῖρος* is made the root, and *ἑτης* the derivative; *τιθή* is put under *τιθασσός* (*τιθασός*), *κάρ* and *κára* under *κάρηρον*. These errors, however, are of less frequent occurrence. The great defect, in point of etymology, is, that words, which have obviously a common origin, are either treated of as primitives, or referred to different roots. With defects of this description the *Thesaurus* abounds; and it was in this department that a great improvement might have been effected. To give one instance out of many. No person, we suppose, will hesitate to refer to the common radix *ἄω*, *I breathe*, the following words; *αἰδῶ*, *αἰλλα*, *ἀήρ*, *αἰρώ*, *ἀηδάν*, *ἀήσυρος*, *αἰσσω*, *αἶξ*, *ἀτμός*, *αὔω*, &c. *αὔλος*, &c. *αὔρα*. Yet of these, only *αὔλος* is given by Stephens as a derivative from *ἄω*; while several other words of very doubtful origin are referred to it, e. g. *αὔλαξ* and *ἡώς*. Again, from the old verb *ΛΑΩ*, which was in use amongst the Dorians to a late age, and which signified *I take*, were derived *λάζω*, *λάβω*, *λαμβάνω*, *λαύω*, (*λάFω*) *ἀπολαύω*, *λείω*, *ληίζω*, *λάχω*, *λαγχάνω*, and perhaps *λᾶς*, *λᾶας*, *λαίμος*. Yet these are classed in the *Thesaurus* under several heads. Valckenaer has produced a list of one hundred words, deducible from the primitive *ἄκω*, which are referred by Stephens to twenty or thirty different roots. He observes upon the whole, ‘*Existimandum minime est, in isto Thesauo singulis vocabulis derivatis suam adsignari originem, singula verba derivata ad suam radicem et priscum fundum reduci. Neutiquam. Hac in parte millies peccavit Stephanus; hac in parte Thesaurus iste amplissimus scatet erroribus.*’ We are not sure, however, that the case would

would not have been worse, if Stephens had pursued his etymological researches much farther. The real analogy of the Greek language was then so little understood, that the lovers of primitives generally fell into great absurdities. A curious specimen in this way is the *Lexicon Etymologicon* of Joannes Harmarus, an English physician, who deduces ‘ἀγάθός ab a et γῆθῳ, quod boni tantum habeant unde latentur. ἀγάω ab ἄγεν ἄω nimum spiro, quod in admiratione non tantum suspicere sed et suspirare videmur—unde Anglice to gaze, and to stand agast.’ The same ingenious physician derives *Knapsack* ἀπὸ τοῦ Κνάπτειν, ‘quia in ea reponuntur ἐφῶδια, quæ subinde κνάπτεσθαι possint ab itinerantibus. Παιῖς, puer. a πάω pasco, vescor, quia pueri hoc vel illud esitant. Anglicum est proverbium, Children and chickens are always picking.’ Again, ‘*Louse* Anglicum oritur ex τῆς ἀλουσίας;’ a derivation physically if not etymologically true.

We have now specified the chief defects of the Thesaurus, as far as the arrangement is concerned; and they are so great, as to render it, even with its present bulk, extremely inconvenient for the purposes of reference. The disposition of the words, with reference to their origin, is so very arbitrary and inconsistent, that no student can make use of the Thesaurus, without first consulting the general index: a disadvantage, which it would be impossible to avoid altogether in any lexicon, where the words are to be ranged according to their primitives; but which might undoubtedly be diminished in a very considerable degree, by a more systematic and rational classification. For our own parts, we could have desired, that instead of reprinting, with insertions which will still further increase this inconvenience, this crude and ill-digested vocabulary, (we speak simply with reference to the arrangement,) Mr. Valpy could have prevailed upon some laborious and judicious scholar, who had well considered and thoroughly weighed the theory of Hemsterhuys, (as elucidated by Valckenauer,) to publish a complete vocabulary, in which all the derivatives should be classed under their real primitives; while at the same time every word should have been found in alphabetical order, with a reference to its primitive. For instance; under the root *ΑΩ* we would have given all the derivatives above enumerated, ἀειδω, ἀειδω, &c. and each of these should also have been found in its proper alphabetical place with a reference; ‘*Αειλλα*, vid. *ΑΩ*.’ This would at once have furnished a complete etymological lexicon, without the inconvenience of an index, and in most cases without the need of a reference to two volumes; and it is obvious that this plan would not have occasioned any considerable increase of bulk, a serious evil in any book, and especially in a lexicon. Of course it would have been needless to repeat the



*compound* words, about which no scholar could hesitate ; it would be sufficient to class these under the simple forms. For this single reason, independently of several others which might be assigned, we have never been of the number of those,\* who for some years past have been so clamorous for the reprinting of the *Thesaurus*. An unfortunate rage has prevailed of late years, for reprinting old books, whether lexicons, or editions of ancient authors ; than which few things can be more injurious to the advancement of learning. A double inconvenience results from this practice. When books are reprinted, without such alterations as the improved state of learning demands, error is perpetuated ; and the market is closed against better and more accurate publications. We are compelled to direct a part of this censure against the conductors of the Clarendon press, at Oxford ; but more particularly against the London booksellers and printers, who are absolutely deluging the country with faulty reprints of the worst editions of the classics.

Another defect of the *Thesaurus*, and it is only surprizing that it did not exist in a still greater degree, is the absence of a vast number of words which are found in various writers, in the tragedians, in the fragments of the poets, the anthologia, the platonists, the erotic writers, the scholiasts, the grammarians, and other neoteric authors. For this defect a remedy has been in part provided by the labours of Scott, Suicer, Jensius, and others ; and amongst later scholars by Bast, Schaefer, Schweighäuser, Boissonade, and many more, whose papers the present publishers have procured at a considerable expense, besides the voluntary contributions of several laborious scholars. In this respect, indeed, it is probable that the present republication will leave little to be desired. In fact, we are not sure that the deluge of new words will not be quite overwhelming. We are not prepared to say, how far it is desirable to incorporate into one lexicon *all* the words, which are to be found in the wide range of Grecian literature ; except some method be devised, by which the student may be enabled to discover, at one view, the various degrees of authority, which belong to the writers by whom they are employed. In this respect, all the lexicons, which have yet been compiled, are susceptible of great improvement. And in the new *Thesaurus*, which we have contemplated in imagination, a line of distinction should be drawn between the words, which are used by the Greek writers prior to the era of Alexander the Great, and those which are only

\* The fashion was set by a late eminent scholar, in his preface to the 'Appendix ad Lexicon Jo. Scapulae,' where he promises the laurel of Apollo to him who should undertake a new edition of the *Thesaurus*, whose province he marks out, without ever touching upon the grand requisite of all, an entirely new arrangement.

to be found in later authors. Again, the Macedonian or Alexandrian families of words ought to be distinguished from their more genuine Hellenic brethren; a task which has been undertaken, and in part executed, by Sturzius. Another line of demarcation should be traced out between the classical authors, and those who wrote after the Latin language had come into general use. All this would be a task of great labour, demanding accurate and extensive erudition, and a sound judgment; but when executed, it would be productive of infinite advantage to the student, who, we will venture to say, will, in nine instances out of ten, be either terrified, or perplexed and confused, by the heterogeneous and chaotic world of words, which the new edition of Stephens threatens to present. The want of these distinctive criteria is in a great measure supplied by Schneider, in his *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*, where he has noted whether a word be poetical, a dialectic variety, peculiar to the ecclesiastical writers, or to the Greek translation of the Old Testament, or of doubtful authority. But Schneider's book is in many parts defective, and is altogether on so confined a scale, as to be considered only in the light of a manual for younger students.

A further improvement, which was requisite in a new *Thesaurus*, was a correct and philosophical arrangement of the various meanings of each word, beginning with its primary signification, and deducing thence its metaphorical, adscititious, collateral, and idiomatic senses. In this respect the original work is eminently defective; and the present editors probably will not consider themselves at liberty to introduce so considerable a change in the form of the *Thesaurus*. We will illustrate our meaning by an instance. The word Πονή is thus explained by Stephens;

‘ΠΟΙΝΗ. Poena, Ultio injuriæ seu peccati—ποινὰς δίδωαι et τίνας—dare pœnas. || Ipsæ etiam Furæ, et deæ quæ scelorum pœnas exigere creduntur, ποινὰι nominantur. || Ποινὴ Homero ἀντάλλαγμα, ἀντιτάξις, ἀμοιβή, ut exponitur in locis qui sequuntur. Iliad σ—ἐνίστοι εἶνεα ποινῆς Ἀνδρὸς ἀπεφθιμένοι. Iliad. ε. Δῶχ' υἱὸς ποινὴν Γαρυμῆδος, &c. Significat igitur Homero non tantum pœnam quæ corpore luitur, sed etiam pretium quo injuria pensatur.’

Now it is quite evident to any person, who considers the history of language, and takes into account the state of civil society in that age, when the Greek tongue first assumed consistency and polish, that the third signification of Ποινή, according to Stephens's arrangement, ought to have been the first. Punishments were originally only compensations made for injury done; even in cases of bodily hurt, and murder itself, which, in the age of Homer, might be atoned for by a fine. The primary signification

tion then of ποινή is 'a compensation,' whence ἀποινα, a ransom. Hence it came to denote any kind of punishment, the word being retained, while the institutions of society were altered. And thus it is easy to account for the phrases ποινήν or δίκην διδόναι, the punishment being considered as a compensation which the offender gave to the injured party, or to his nearest friends. It is obvious, from this single instance, that a right arrangement of the significations of each word, is of great importance, towards giving a philosophic view of the language. Again,

Ὑποκριτής. Simulator. Et peculiariter qui Gallicè *Hypocrite*. || Et qui Latinis *Histrion*, sed additur interdum genitivus δράματος; seu δραμάτων. || Item ὑποκριτὴς ὀνειρῶν, conjector somniorum.

It should have stood thus;

Ὑποκριτής. Qui respondet : ab ὑποκρίσθαι, respondere, Homer. Herodot. || *Histrion*, quia primo tragiæ statu histrio Choro respondebat. Suidas, ὁ ὑποκριόμενος τῷ Χορῷ. || *Simulator*, quia histriones fictas partes tuebantur.

This arrangement shews at once the origin and genealogy of the different meanings of ὑποκριτής.

Great caution, however, is requisite, both in the arrangement and multiplication of the meanings of words. Oftentimes a signification, which seems at first sight to be primary, will be found, upon examination, to be derivative only; and oftentimes a difference in the significations of the same word in different passages, will be found to be only apparent.

The utility and value of the *Thesaurus* might further have received a very important addition, if the quantities had been marked over all the doubtful syllables, as is the case in the best Latin lexicons. We are surprized that this obvious and desirable improvement did not suggest itself to the present editors. It is true that the student who possesses Dr. Maltby's elaborate and accurate *Thesaurus Græcæ Poeseos*, will need no other source of information on questions relating to the prosody of the language. But it is desirable to have as much information as possible in one point of view; and the notation of the quantities in the improved *Thesaurus* would not in the least have superseded Dr. Maltby's valuable publication, which contains a great variety of learned and useful remarks, besides a copious account of synonymes and poetical usages.

A still further accession of utility was to be obtained by referring, under particular words, to the writings of modern critics and philologists, who have illustrated their meanings or properties. In this respect the present editors have been eminently diligent, and leave little to be desired. It is but justice to them

to observe, that they have displayed a most extensive reading, and much curious research. Scarcely any sources of information are open, to which they have not had recourse; and we are therefore the more inclined to regret, that they have allowed themselves so little time for the thorough digestion and judicious arrangement of their materials. They seem, indeed, to have been overwhelmed by the deluge of philological information which has been poured in upon them, and to have lost sight of every thing like selection or compression. A reference to critical works is necessary only in particular cases; and in no instance should any critical or philological discussion be introduced at length into the *Thesaurus*, the utility of which obviously varies directly as its comprehensiveness, and inversely as its bulk. Just so much as is requisite for the clear explanation of a word and its usage, should be inserted, and no more. A *Thesaurus* is a book where the student looks not for dissertation but for authority. We wish that the present editors had kept this consideration in view: as it is, we regret to say,—they have detailed page after page of discussion and diatribe, till poor Stephens and his *Thesaurus* are often lost sight of in the fray. But we do not want a collection of treatises on words, however useful a reference to them may be. All that we desire is, a clear statement of the meaning, derivation and inflexion of words, supported by sufficient authorities. It is worse than useless to collect, or even to specify all the passages where a word is used, unless it be of rare occurrence, or have some peculiarity, which renders it more than commonly remarkable: and it is still more objectionable, to throw together in a dictionary all that has been said upon it by grammarians and critics; yet this is going on to an alarming extent (alarming to the eyes and the pockets of the subscribers) in the new edition of the *Thesaurus*.

But least of all can it be tolerated, that in a work, which cannot possibly be made too compendious, (so that nothing important be omitted,) the compiler should indulge in discussions and observations quite foreign from the subject in hand, and oftentimes having nothing to do with the word under consideration. Under ἀγοράνομον, which occurs in a Greek epigram, we have two thirds of a column occupied in an explanation of the epigram, half of which explanation is taken up in justifying an emendation of κηπεύς for καὶ παῖς. Under Ἀγορασία is a long discussion of Lobeck's upon words ending in σία. Under Ἀπαγγέλλω is cited a passage of Athenæus, where it occurs in the sense of *memoriter recito*, and then a long note of Schweighæuser's upon the other parts of the quotation, but nothing about ἀπαγγέλλω, except two lines at the end. Under Εὐαγγέλιον, because Scaliger had rightly observed that εὐαγγέλλω was not a Greek word, (which is all that need be

said on the subject,) we have a disquisition of no less than thirteen columns, and a great many closely printed foot-notes, about *other* words, which are not Greek, *χαλκοκεκαυμένος, κακοσώμενος, &c.* &c. very learned and laborious, but not having the remotest connexion with *εὐαγγέλιον*. This is a shameful abuse of the reader's time and patience, and makes it quite a farce to talk of the *republication* of Stephens's *Thesaurus*, which the editors have cut into small strips, and inserted here and there between their own incongruous and irrelevant masses of matter, as the Irishman passed his light guinea, by slipping it into three-pence which he paid at the turnpike. So completely disguised and overwhelmed is the good old lexicographer, that if he could suddenly revive, and contemplate his posthumous growth, he would doubt his own identity, as Trivelino did, when he awoke with the bridle in his hand, but without the horse. We do not deny that his equipments were such, as to require considerable improvement, both in capacity and ornament; but it is contrary to all principles of taste, to load him with half a score wigs and hats by different makers, and of various fashions; and to deck his carcass with such cumbrous furniture—

To wit, twelve jackets, twelve surtouts,  
Twelve pantaloons, twelve pair of boots.

The editors, in a paper drawn up for the purpose of obviating some objections of Professor Hermann, have endeavoured to defend themselves, by stating, that 'it has been their great object, as far as it is practicable, without disturbing the arrangement of H. Stephens, to bring into one and the same article all the various synonymes, because by their juxtaposition they mutually reflect light upon each other.' But this defence is totally inapplicable to a great proportion of the discussions of which we complain. In the last-mentioned instance, a multiplicity of words are brought together, to swell an article to an immoderate size, which have no common bond of connexion but their termination. This might have been excused in a new edition of Hoogveen's lexicon, where the words are ranged according to their endings; but in the *Thesaurus* it is an unseemly and unnatural excrescence.

We are far, however, from being disposed to judge the conductors of the present work with severity. The task which they have undertaken is a most difficult one, requiring a union of learning, sagacity and judgment, which is of very rare occurrence. To their multifarious reading, and diligence in research, we are most ready to do justice; and freely acknowledge, that in point of quantity, very little which is requisite to the illustration of the Greek language, is omitted in the present edition of the *Thesaurus*.

sauros. But we complain, and, we think, with good reason, of the singular want of judgment manifested, in throwing together, almost promiscuously, all that every body has ever said about every word; instead of making a selection of the most important remarks, and carefully omitting every thing which was not essential to the illustration of the point in question. The inconvenience which results from this mode of proceeding is great in every way. It renders the *Thesaurus* totally useless, as a help to the student in construing a Greek author; it will swell the work to a bulk, which will unfit it for any library of modest dimensions: and it will increase the price of the book, and protract the time of its completion to a frightful extent.

For our own amusement, and for the information of the subscribers, many of whom, we apprehend, are ignorant of the advantages which they possess in prospect, we have made a little calculation of the probable bulk, expense, and time of publication of the improved *Thesaurus*, which we have reason to believe is within bounds: at all events, as it is a rule of three sum, any error which has slipped in will be easily detected. The 688th page of Mr. Valpy's *Thesaurus* corresponds with the 53d of the original work; consequently, if the same proportion be observed throughout, the new edition will be just thirteen times as bulky as the old one. Now the original work consists of three goodly volumes in folio, besides the fourth volume of indexes, and the fifth of glossaries. It is true that a very considerable part of the fourth volume is taken up with the Appendix, which the present Editors have inserted in the body of the work; but it is not to be doubted, that the additions and corrections, which they will have to make at the conclusion of the work, will be in proportion to the bulk of it; so that our calculation will not exceed the truth. And thus it appears, that the actual dictionary will occupy at least thirty-nine folio volumes; but as it is reasonable to conclude, that the farther the work proceeds, the greater will be the accumulation of materials, which the Editors seem resolved to pour out *ὅλην θυλάκην* into this capacious reservoir, it is not unreasonable to calculate upon the addition of three or four volumes extra. To these we have to add the treatises, which the Editors have thought fit to publish in the first two numbers, and which, in conjunction with the Glossaries, will form a separate volume. Then there must be an Index, eight or nine times as big as that of Stephens, but we will say five times; and thus, upon the whole, we may reckon that the work, when complete, will occupy at least fifty good folio volumes, and very probably more. The price of each Number to the subscribers is one guinea for the small paper, and two guineas for the large. Each volume will

will comprehend at least four numbers; so that the cost of the whole work will be to the *little* subscribers 200 guineas, and to the *large*, 400, 'inest sua gratia parvis.' This we believe to be a calculation which falls short of the truth.

The time which the publication will occupy, according to the present rate of proceeding, will not be less than seventy years—a melancholy consideration for those subscribers, who are ambitious of seeing their names in the list of the 1100; since we are informed, in a notice prefixed to one of the parts, that the Dedications, List of Subscribers, &c. will be given in the *last* number. But who can undertake to say what will be done or given, in a book which is to make its appearance in the year 1889? Messrs. Valpy and Barker, together with all their subscribers—printer, editor, readers and critics will, long before that distant day, have been gathered to the Stephensens and Scapulas of other times. Wo betide the luckless wight, who has determined to reserve the enucleation of hard words, beginning with any letter after *pi*, which he may meet with in the course of his studies, till the latter numbers of the improved *Thesaurus* shall come forth!

'Vitæ summa brevis spem nos vetat inchoare longam.'

Such a work as this deserved an antediluvian race of publishers and purchasers.

It may be said, that it was impossible to ascertain beforehand, with any degree of precision, the magnitude of a work of this nature, and therefore that the subscribers have no right to complain of the unforeseen extension of the price and time. Why then did the conductors of the work pledge themselves to certain limits?

In a prospectus printed in the *Classical Journal* seven years ago, it is said that 'the work will be published in twenty-four numbers; to be completed in four or five years.' The first number appeared in 1815; and at the present moment six or seven numbers, we believe, have made their appearance. But we have seen only four; of which the last column, numbered 688, corresponds, as we observed, with p. 53 of the original work. Now the total number of columns in the three volumes of the original work is 6273; and as 53 are to 688, so are 6273 to 81,430 and a fraction. The number of columns in one number of the new edition is about 360, and the quotient of 81,430 divided by 360 is 226 and a fraction. Add to this the fourth volume, which will probably occupy ten numbers more at least, and we shall have 236 numbers, which, with the Glossaries, and the two first numbers, will make up nearly 240 numbers, being just ten times as many as are announced in the Prospectus; and the expense will be to the noble and plebeian subscribers respectively 480 and 240 guineas. Thus by another calculation, we have arrived at a result still  
more



more alarming than the first; and even this, we are convinced, falls short of the actual evil.

Even supposing that the foregoing statement is somewhat highly coloured, of which however we are not conscious, let us reduce every item in the calculation to two thirds, or even one half, and still the numerical facts will be sufficiently alarming, and such as, we will venture to say, not one of the original subscribers contemplated, even in the wildest dreams of their fancy. The proposals were, in the first instance, for a republication of Stephens's *Thesaurus*; a work, which the scarcity of the original edition would have rendered valuable and useful. Then it was to be an improved and enlarged edition; this was suspicious: but when the first Number made its appearance, containing not one word of the *Thesaurus*, but a farrago of treatises by various authors, most of them of common occurrence, such as, that of Kuster *de verbis mediis*, some of the subscribers took the alarm, and declined having any thing further to do with a work, which set out with a complete deviation from the Prospectus, which had induced them to give the sanction of their names. These we suspect to be 'the deceased subscribers,' whose copies are to be had, upon application to Mr. Valpy, at the moderate price of 1*l.* 3*s.* small, and 2*l.* 10*s.* large paper. At the same time we are informed, that the price will soon be raised to 1*l.* 5*s.* and 2*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* We may therefore reckon that the cost of the work to the fortunate holders of deceased subscribers' copies will be about 250 and 500 guineas. We cannot help observing, by the way, that if all the deceased subscribers' copies are left on the publishers' hands, long before the completion of the work, the whole 1100 will be a disposable commodity. But to return to the subject: it is very obvious that there were two distinct plans of proceeding, either of which the publishers might with propriety have adopted. The first was, to give a new edition of Stephens, incorporating the additions which he has inserted in the Index, verifying and giving accurate references for the quotations, and nothing more. This was the original plan of the present edition. 'Their first intention was only to incorporate into the *Thes.* (an elegant abbreviation!) those words with which H. Stephens met after the completion of the work, and which he has thrown into his *Index*—to insert in the *Thes.* Scott's *Appendix*—and to verify the quotations. But they mean to extend their plan, because they entertain little doubt of the success of their undertaking,\* i. e. in a pecuniary point of view. The other was, to publish an entirely new *Thesaurus*, on the plan of Stephens,

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\* *Class. Journal*, No. XIX.

but

but according to a more philosophical arrangement, availing themselves of the collections of more recent philologists, and introducing such alterations and improvements as might have been deemed expedient. Instead of which, the present editors have most injudiciously endeavoured to combine the two plans; and professing to preserve the whole of the original *Thesaurus* with the most scrupulous reverence, they have dispersed it here and there amidst a vast mass of omnifarious matter, so that we never know who it is that is instructing us, whether Stephens, or Schaefer, or Schweighæuser, or Mr. Barker. It seems not a little surprizing, that before entering upon a work of such magnitude and importance, the Editors did not submit to the learned world a tolerably exact outline of the plan which they intended to pursue, together with a specimen of its execution. Had that been done, we venture to say that such advice would have been given them from various quarters, as would have prevented their embarking upon an ocean which seems to be without a shore, and themselves,

‘Like Whiston, wanting pyx or stars.’

In a publication, which professes to be a new edition of Stephens's *Thesaurus*, we may reasonably expect to find the labours of that lexicographer so distinctly separated from the recent additions to his work, that we shall have no difficulty in determining what is Stephens's and what is not. But so little is this just and necessary assignment of property attended to in the present work, that it is extremely difficult for the student to ascertain what portion of an article belongs to the original edition, and what is peculiar to the new. Parenthesis within parenthesis, and bracketted brackets confuse us in our inquiry, and demand more time than we can afford to bestow upon the parentage of each remark. We will give one instance of this inconvenience. In the original *Thesaurus* we have the following article, vol. i. p. 19.

‘Εισαγγέλλω. Renuntio. Refero. Xenoph. Pæd. 8. εἰσαγγέλλετι πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἵνα κοινῇ βουλευόμενοι, &c. Idem Symposio, κρούσας τῆς θύρας εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι, εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἶη, &c. Sic εἰσαγγέλλομαι apud Demosth. εἰσαγγελλόμενος ὑμῖν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων.’

In the new edition, p. 385, it stands thus,

‘Εισαγγέλλω. Renuntio. Refero. Xenoph. K. II. viii. (3. 9.) Εἰσαγγέλλετι πρὸς ἐμὲ, ἵνα κοινῇ βουλευόμενοι κ. τ. λ. Idem Symp. (i. 11.) Κρούσας τῆς θύρας εἶπε τῷ ὑπακούσαντι, εἰσαγγεῖλαι ὅστις τε εἶη. [“Proprie dicitur de janitore qui fores observat, et annuntiat domino, si qui velint intro-mitti: Herod. iii. 118. (ἤθελε ἰς τὰ βασιλῆα ἰσθλῶν χρηματίσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ) καὶ γὰρ δὴ καὶ ὁ νόμος οὕτω εἶχε τοῖσι ἵπασταστᾶσι τῷ μάγῃ ἰσοδοῖ εἶναι παρὰ βασιλῆα ἀνὺ ἀγγέλου, ἢν μὴ γυναικὶ τυγχάνῃ μισθόμενος ὁ βασιλεὺς. Οὕκων δὲ Ἰσταφίρης ἰδικαῖον οὐδῆνα οἱ εἰσαγγεῖλαι, ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἦν τῶν ἱπτά, εἰσίσαια ἤθελε.”] Lex. Xenoph. Lysias Ἀπολ. ὁ. τ. Ἐρατο. Φ. p. 23. 5.

Ἐπειτα

ἔπειτα ὡς αὐτὴ ταλυντῶσα εἰσαγγέλλει, "de ancilla amasium heræ commendante, adventum ejus intro nuntiante, introducente, congressus conciliante." Reisk. Luc. in Nigrino ii. Καὶ κόψας τὴν ὕψαν τοῦ παιδὸς εἰσαγγέλλαντος, ἐκλήθη. "H. l. usurpat Casp. Sagittar. de Jan. Vet. xvi. 32. Servorum ad januam s. τῶν θυρῶν munus εἰσαγγέλλειν. Plat. Protag. p. 220. a. Inde in Regum aulis εἰσαγγέλλει." T. Hemsterh. Vide Wessel. Diod. S. ii. 118. Abresch. Lectt. Aristæn. p. 305. et Addend. ad calcem Aristæn. p. 146. Athen. xiv. 614. c. ubi Xenoph. locus supra citatus affertur, Dorvill. ad Charit. v. 2. p. 467=438. Eurip. Bacch. 170. Τίς ἐν πόλεισι Κάδμοι ἐκκαλεῖ δῆμον, Ἀγένορος παῖδ' ὅς, πάλιν Σιδωνίαν λιπὼν ἐπύργωσ' ἄστρῳ Θηβαίῳ τόδε; Ἴτω τις, εἰσαγγέλλει, Τυρρσίας ὅτι Ζητῆϊ μν.] Demosth. (1207) Εἰσαγγέλλονται ὑμῖν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων πραγμάτων. ["Thucyd. 552. 83. Εἰσαγγέλλοτο αὐτοῖς ἡ ἐν τῇ Σάμῳ ταρμαχῇ, 562. 84. ὡς εἰσαγγέλλοι τοῖς ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ sedentibus." Valck. ad Scapulæ marg.]

It is unnecessary for us to observe, that this article is preposterously amplified, and that the original remarks of Stephens are disguised both in form and position. It would have been much better to give the original article entire, inserting only the references to the quotations, and then to annex the additional observations. But it is obviously needless to multiply authorities for such a common word as εἰσαγγέλλω. One decisive example of each meaning is as good as twenty. If instances are piled one upon another at this rate, from the margins and common-place books of industrious scholars, we shall come by degrees to have a *Thesaurus*, comprising all the works of all the Greek authors, but in shreds and patches. It will scarcely be credited, that 139 columns are occupied by the single word ἄγαλμα, or rather by a series of dissertations upon every thing relating to ornaments, images, and decorations of all kinds, with occasional episodes upon matters altogether foreign, which happen to cross the Editor, as he is hunting the word ἄγαλμα through all the mazes of philology. It is curious to observe how frequently he loses the scent, and goes off upon a new track, if some curious expression or custom thwarts his path. For instance, the word ἄγαλμα occurs in the last line of an epigram, which the Editor transcribes at full length, as usual, (for it is no uncommon thing for him to give us half a page of an author at a time,) and in which epigram mention is made of the custom which hunters had, of suspending some part of the game to a tree, as an offering to some deity; a custom known to every fourth-form boy. Accordingly off goes the Editor, in a note upon this practice, not containing one word about ἄγαλμα. In the next page but one, because Ἐκάτης ἄγαλμα is used by Aristophanes to signify a dog, he actually begins a dissertation, which is continued through fifty-five columns, upon the sacrifices offered to Hecate and other Gods, and the different

ferent titles of Hecate, and notes on the Τρίβαλλοι, and Sophron, and ἀμυαλίζω and Mercury and the ancient chemists, and what not?—but not a word of or relating to ἀγαλμα in the whole of this enormous excrescence. Again, we have a careful enumeration of all the passages which contain any mention of ἀγαλμα Διός, Πανός, Ἀπόλλωνος, &c. and so on through the whole pantheon; which kind of *obscura diligentia* is much the same as would be that of an English lexicographer, who, under the word *Church*, should proceed to enumerate St. Paul's Church, St. James's Church, St. Pancras, St. Botolph, St. Benet Fink, Alhallows Barking, and Christ Church, which of course would furnish a good opportunity for several dissertatory columns upon Oxford, Cardinal Wolsey, &c. And this it is to edit Stephens! We are fully sensible of the difficulty of the undertaking, and how vain it is to expect to please everybody; but the want of judgment, and of consideration for the subscribers' eyes and pockets, which is manifested in this and in similar instances, must not pass without reproof. The editors seem to have raked together all the common-place books of all the readers of Greek, who have been in the habit of using interleaved lexicons, or roomy margins, for the purpose of pouring all their contents into this 'captious and terrible sieve.' If, for instance, Mr. Schaefer or Mr. Boissonade, very learned and excellent men, (the former of whom has a strange trick of writing long notes in indexes,) happen to have elucidated, for their own satisfaction, a disquisition upon some particular word, or, as the learned editor would say, to have *dissertated* upon it; no matter how much extraneous discussion is introduced, which has no immediate connexion with the word in question, away it goes to the *Ædes Valpianæ*, in Tooke's Court, and thence into the *Thes.* whole and entire. The consequence is, as we have shown, that in numerous instances, instead of a clear, methodical account of a word, with its various meanings regularly deduced, and illustrated by a few apposite and decisive authorities, we have long, desultory diatribes on a great many other words, which are not, to be sure, the words that we are inquiring for, but they are of the same genus; they all end perhaps in ω, or they have all a peculiar twist in the head or tail, and, therefore, says the editor, as you are curious about one of them, here they are all—walk in, ladies and gentlemen, and see what you shall see! But we must beg pardon for sporting with the feelings of the large paper subscribers, the four hundred guinea gentlemen, to whom all this dilatation of bulk is a very serious concern. Let them, however, take comfort in the consideration, that in proportion to the growth of the *Thesaurus* will be the number of tall-paper copies in their libraries, and of course the increase of their own satisfaction.

Crescent illæ—crescētis amores!

The editors are aware of the censure which they have deservedly incurred in this respect, and have offered the following apology in a recent Number of the *Classical Journal*.

'Should any of the subscribers, from a cursory view of the work, be disposed to infer that, as so much space is employed in the explanations of some words, there is but little chance of the undertaking ever being completed within the prescribed limits, the editors would add, that much of the matter, both in the text and notes, relates to words which will come under discussion as they proceed. The quotations, for instance, introduced from the Greek writers and the Greek grammarians to illustrate the various significations of the word *Ἀγαλμα* are equally applicable to the illustrations of the synonymes *Ἀνάθημα, Ἀνδριάς, Βρίτας, Γραφή, Πόανον*, &c. [synonymes, forsooth!] and thus the work is in reality advanced in proportion to the extent of such matter.'

But this defence, although plausible, is not true. The question is not whether *every* word is to be illustrated at equal length; but whether a *proportionable* number of words, throughout the alphabet, are to serve as pegs for notes and dissertations; and we do not hesitate to affirm, that if the editors preserve any degree of consistency or plan, and illustrate other *classes* of words in the same manner as they have elucidated *ἄγαλμα* and some others, the magnitude of the entire work will even exceed that which we have assigned to it. Since the former part of this Article was written, the fifth and sixth Numbers of the *Thesaurus* have been put into our hands; and we observe, that nearly the same proportion between the original work and the new edition, in point of bulk, continues to be maintained; for page 127 of Stephens answers to page 1346 of Valpy.

The editors profess to give Stephens entire, and truly we think that he deserved it at their hands. But they have made a great many alterations in the text of the original work, all of which do not seem to be warrantable. For instance, under the head *Ἀγγελος*, Stephens says, [Composita sunt *Ἀντάγγελος, Διάγγελος, Ἐξάγγελος*. Dicitur autem] *Ἀντάγγελος* Qui sibi nuntius est, &c. The words between brackets are entirely omitted in the new edition. In the next article, the words *αὐτάγγελοι*, inquit Hesychius, *ἑαυτοῖς χράμενοι ἄγγελοις*, are omitted, as a part of the original observation of Stephens, and the quotation from Hesychius is given in a remark of Schaefer's; and so the instance from Thucydides, Book III. is treated.

In page 15. (338. 339.) the editors have transposed the articles '*Ἀγγελος pro ἄγγελμα*' and '*Ἀγγελική, saltatio quædam*,' and materially altered the words of Stephens in the last mentioned article, which are these: '*Ἀγγελική, saltatio quædam, quæ inter pocula exercebatur.*

exercebatur. Athen. lib. xiv. Καὶ τὴν ἀγγελικὴν δὲ πάροιον ἡκρίβουν ὄρχησιν. Hesychius autem habet, ἀγγελίη, ὄρχησις τις παρόινος. In the new edition it stand thus: 'Ἀγγελικὴ, ἡς, ἡ. Saltatio quædam, quæ inter pocula exercebatur. Hesych. 'Ἀγγελίη ὄρχησις τις παρόινος.' And then the quotation from Athenæus is given as a part of the editor's additional remarks. But this is not reprinting Stephens; nor is it doing him justice. If any alterations were to be made in his disposition of the words, and in his own observations upon them, it would surely have been better to new model the whole *Thesaurus*, and to desert Stephens at once. As it is, we are ready to allow, that these innovations are to be attributed to the plan which the editors have followed, rather than to carelessness on their part. It was hardly possible to fulfil their own notions and yet adhere to Stephens.

We have another deviation to remark. It is usual with Stephens to print the primitive, which stands at the head of a whole class, in large capitals: the words which seem to have a common origin with it, but are not regularly formed from it, are printed in smaller capitals; those words which are directly deducible from it, in a larger kind of *littera minuscule*, and the verbs and compounds in a smaller type. For instance, ΑΓΚΩΝ. ΑΓΚΑΛΗ. Ἀγκοινή. Ἀγκοιζέμαι, Εὐάγκυλος. The present editors have only one size of capitals and one of the smaller character. As Stephens, however, is not quite uniform in his practice, and perhaps studied ornament more than distinctness in this variety, we do not think this deviation of very material consequence. Nor do we find much fault with the inconstancy which is observable in the abbreviations of proper names; it is, however, a blemish to the work. Thus the same man is at one time Kuster and at another Kust. Xenophon, Xenoph. and Xen. Hemster. and Hemst. Plutarch and Plut. Hesych. and Hes. This, we suppose, is attributable to the different MSS. from which the numerous additions are taken; but it indicates precipitancy on the part of the publishers.

The Editors have of course availed themselves of the lexicons of Damm on Homer, and Pindar, of Biel on the Septuagint, and of Schleusner on the New Testament. But they should have inserted either more or less. They should either have incorporated the whole of the lexicons, which would have superseded the necessity of two references, or they should have briefly extracted the most material remarks. But the fact seems to have been, that in making their extracts from Schleusner, and other works of the same kind, the Editors have made more use of the scissors than of the pen; and if they had employed that useful edge-tool with as much discretion and judgment as our great English lexicographer

pher exercised, in cutting out the quotations for his dictionary, we should not have objected to a plan, which undoubtedly spares trouble both to the author and the printer. But in point of fact, the accumulation and tacking together of so many shreds of paper, have produced great prolixity and confusion. At other times the Editors neglect these lexicons, and make no extracts from them in places, where they ought to have been quoted at length. For instance, the word *Ἀγάπη* is dismissed with the following brief and insufficient notice;

‘*Ἀγάπη*, ας, ἡ. Dilectio. Caritas. (Amor. Benevolentia.) Plut. Sympos. vii. (6. T. viii. p. 835.) ‘*Ἀποποιεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸ πρὸς ἀγαθὰ κομιδῇ καὶ ἀσυνήθει βαδίζειν, ἀν μὴ τις ἢ διαφέρειν ἀρετῇ, καθάπερ εἴρηται, καὶ τοῦτο φιλίας ποιησάμενος ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀγάπης. ὡς τὸ ἰαθῆναι καὶ ἀφελῶς ἀφικέσθαι σὺν ἱτέρῳ πρὸς αὐτόν.* [*Ἀγαπήσαν*] recte scripsit Wytenbachius sola sententiæ auctoritate pro vulgato *ἀγάπης* δν. Sic et Reiskius conjecerat. 2 Reg. xiii. 15. ‘*Ὅτι μέγα τὸ μῖσος ὃ ἱμίσθησιν αὐτὴν ὑπὲρ τὰν ἀγάπην ἣν ἠγάπησιν αὐτήν.* Plura vide in Schleusneri Lex.]

Now in the first place Wytenbach's correction might have been more concisely mentioned; and there was no occasion to give the quotation from the Septuagint, where the word *ἀγάπη* is used in its common signification. But the Editors omit, not only the important distinction of Schleusner, ‘*Ἀγάπη. amor, benevolentia, amicitia*, tam prout est animi habitus, quam prout actu exercetur,’ but also five significations, which he assigns to the word, as used in the New Testament; viz. 1. Studium aliorum commodis inserviendi. 2. Omne documentum amoris. 3. Studium intensum et acre alicujus rei. 4. Omnia officia alteri præstanda. 5. Ille ipse qui est benevolus et amico erga alios animo. (abstractum pro concreto.) And his explanation of the *ἀγαπαί*, or love-feasts, instead of being added, as usual, to the article of Stephens, is, for no reason that we can perceive, thrust down into a note.

In the same column we meet with another instance of the bad taste of the present Editors, in swelling to a needless size observations upon the most unimportant words.

‘*Ἀμφαγαπᾶν*, Deamo, valde Amo, Carissimum habeo, περισσῶς ἀγαπᾶν, prepositione ἀμφὶ augente significationem. Poeticum est. Hesiodi Opp. (l. 58.) ‘*Ἐδὲ κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες* [Ab Hesiodo sumsit Tryphiodorus v. 135. a G. Wakefieldio in MSS. laudatus: Τρῶες ἀταξέσθην τοι θεῆς ἀπατήνορα τίχην] Διὸς ἰστανάγῳσιν, ἰδὲ κακὸν ἀμφαγαπῶντες]. Hesych. tamen ἀμφαγαπῶντες exponit simpliciter ἀσπαζόμενοι, i. e. amplectentes. Vide Ἀμφαγαπαζόμενος. [Etym. M. p. 88, 33. Ἀμφαγαπῶντες: ἡγοῦν περιβάλλοντες, περισσῶς ἀγαπῶντες. Hymnus Homericus in Cererem v. 439. a Schaefero in MS. indicatus: Πολλὰ δ’ αὖ ἀμφαγάπτου κέρην Δημήτερος ἀγνήν. Sed recte Matthiæus post Mitscherlich. versum hunc tanquam spurium ejiciendum monuit.]



Now the quotation from such an author as Tryphiodorus is obviously needless; his authority and that of Hesiod are but one. If Matthiæ, and the gentleman with ten consonants in his name, did right in ejecting a spurious verse from the Hymn to Ceres, the Editors did wrong in quoting it as an authority. The whole article might have stood thus;—

Ἀμφαγαπᾶω. Deamo, valde Amo, Carissimum habeo, περισσῶς ἀγαπᾶω [Etymol. M. p. 88, 33.] præpositione ἀμφὶ augente significationem. Poeticum est. Hesiod. Opp. l. 58. Ἐὸς καὶ ἀμφαγαπῶντες. [unde Tryphiod. l. 135.] Hesych. tamen ἀμφαγαπῶντες exponit simpliciter ἀσπαζόμενοι, i. e. amplectentes.

All that is more than this is superfluous, and therefore hurtful; because it increases the bulk and expensiveness of the work, and needlessly distracts the attention of the student. A lexicon is not the place for critical discussions. The best readings should be quoted; and if the Editor thinks fit to adopt a reading, different from that of the edition which he uses of an author, he may as briefly as possible state his reasons. But we would ask the most partial admirer of *dissertating*, whether he would expect to find such a specimen of it as the following, in a Greek lexicon under the word Ἀγαίομαι?

Ἀρχιλοχί Fragm. X. p. 291. ed. Gaisf. Οὐ μοι τὰ Γυγίω τοῦ πολυχρόσου μίλει, Οὐδ' εἰλέ πω με ζῆλος, οὐδ' ἀγαίομαι Θεῶν ἔργα.—Ad sensum explicandum plane faciunt illa Horatiana Ep. i. 6. l. ad Numicium:—"Nil admirari prope res est una, Numici, Solaque quæ possit facere ac servare beatum. Hunc solem et stellas, et decedentia certis Tempora momentis, sunt qui formidine nulla imbuti spectant. Quid censes munera terræ? Quid, maris extremos Arabas ditantis et Indos? Ludicra quid, plausus et amici dona Quiritis?" Hæc adeo cum illis Archilochiis consentiunt, ut Horatius, dum hæc scribebat, ea in animo habuisse videatur. Habes ibi τῶν θεῶν ἔργα, hic et solem et stellas, etc.; ibi divitias Gygæ, hic Arabum et Indorum; ibi honores et potentiam tyrannorum, hic honores a Quiritibus collatos. Virum igitur animi constantis et ita compositi se prædicat his versibus Archilochus, ut affectu admirationis, huiusque comitum, invidiæ, cupiditatis, et timoris non perturbetur, neque, si quid melius sua spe videt, defixis oculis, ut idem Horatius ait, animoque et corpore torpescat." Liebelius ad Archilochi Fragm. p. 61. An recte verba Θεῶν ἔργα, intelligat vir doctus, viderint alii. Certe G. Wakefieldius Sylv. Crit. ii. p. 51. a Schaefero in MSS. indicatus, ea aliter interpretatus est—"Act. Apost. vii. 20. ἀστυὸς τῷ θεῷ. i. e. *Exceedingly comely*. Sic Θεῶν σόφισμα Eurip. Phæn. 899. et Theocr. i. 32. Θεῶν δαίδαλμα, i. e. Divini plane Artificis, ut locutus est Theocriti interpres optimus, Cœlatum divini opus Alcimedontis. Neque aliter Archilochus quam de picturis et imaginibus, summo artificio elaboratis, debet accipi, quæ solis divitibus solent contingere. Ex quibus patebit quam infauste Moses Solanus mutare velit Lucian. de Parasito sect. 58.

Huc

Huc facit Horat. l. c. I nunc, argentum et marmor vetus, æraque et artes Suscipe'—meaning, we suppose, *Suspice*.

But of what consequence is it to the student who looks into his *Thesaurus* for the meaning of 'Ἀγάζομαι, to know, whether Moses du Soul was right or wrong in his correction of Lucian, or to be pestered with all the nonsense which Mr. Ignace Liebel\* has written, not upon ἀγάζομαι, but upon a passage in which ἀγάζομαι occurs?

We are aware that we have to apologize to our readers for wasting so much valuable paper upon these uninteresting extracts; but we were desirous of giving one or two specimens, taken at random from the first page which we turned over, of the enormous rate at which the editors are trifling with the time and money of their subscribers. It really seems as if the encouragement they have met with had filled them with such a lively sense of gratitude, and such a desire to gratify their kind patrons, that they have determined to make the *Thesaurus* literally a κτήμα ἐς αἰῶνι, a book to be purchased for ever, a cyclic library, a publication at once periodical and perennial; compiled, as they themselves say, 'not for the present generation only, but for posterity also.'—*Inserere, Daphni, pyros, carpent tua poma nepotes!*—an heirloom, to be bequeathed in some such clause as the following: '*Item*. I give and bequeath to my dear son, A. B. all those thirty-three volumes in folio, entitled, A New and improved edition of Stephens's *Thesaurus*, being so much of the said work as has been yet published; also I hereby devise to him and to his heirs for ever, all my right and title in the remaining twenty or more volumes of the said work, upon condition of his or their paying, from time to time, the sum of two pounds two shillings, lawful money of Great Britain, for each number as it shall come out.' In short, to use the words of a judicious and elegant panegyrist in the *Literary Gazette*, 'we cannot help strongly advising such as may see this notice, and do not yet subscribe, not to pass by this

\* We have a right to say this of any man, who undertakes to publish the fragments of a Greek poet, and tacks to the end of his book Greek verses of his own, faulty both in syntax, prosody and accent; for instance—

Ναπολέοντος καὶ Λουΐζης Γάμος\*

\* Ἀπὸς Ναπολέοντος γαμήϊ Ἀγλαΐαν Λουΐζην

Πάντων, ὅς μιν ὄπλοισ, κάλλει ἢ δὲ κραταῖ.

which we translate, for the benefit of the ladies, into verses, somewhat better and more correct than the original.

*The Marriage of Napoleon and Louisa.*

Napoleon, alias Mars, the mighty Cæsar,

Aglaia takes to wife, to wit Louisa.

Of all mankind, in high or low degree,

The topmost; he in arms, in beauty she.

opportunity of drawing into their family, at a price comparatively trifling, (when it is recollected that the price of the old edition, small paper, had got up to 75*l*.) what might serve as an invaluable heir-loom to their posterity's posterity!

We have further to observe, that a great portion of the critical extracts, which are inserted at full length in the *Thesaurus*, are taken from works in the possession of every scholar. Unless the editors intended to make their book a *corpus philologicum*, so complete as to supersede the necessity of all other critical works, they ought not to have increased the bulk of their volumes with huge notes from such common books as Valckenaer's *Theocritus*. For instance, in p. 10. of the *Thesaurus*, they detail nearly the whole of that long *Digressio a Theocriteis* on the intensive power of  $\tilde{\alpha}$ , whereas all that was necessary was to give a simple list of the words, in which  $\tilde{\alpha}$  seems to exert this power, with a reference to Valckenaer's dissertation; more particularly since it is, after all, very doubtful, whether the *vis intensiva* τοῦ  $\tilde{\alpha}$  be not a fiction of the grammarians: that it is so, seems to be the opinion of the acute and learned Porphyry in his *Quæstiones Homericæ*; and Mr. Kidd has, in our opinion, successfully explained away the instances which Valckenaer has adduced.

We are not disposed to enter at length into a consideration of the original criticisms which the editors have inserted; but we cannot forbear from noticing the most extraordinary confession which they have made, in a defence of themselves against the remarks of Mr. Hermann, who has intermixed a few trivial objections, extorted from him by a sense of decency, amongst several pages of the most fulsome and unsupported (although, we doubt not, unbought) panegyric.\* 'In concluding, the Editors would remark, that *all* the criticisms in their work are to be considered as *autoschediastic*;' (a much nicer word than *extemporaneous*, or *off-hand*;) 'because, as soon as they are finished, they are despatched to the press, and *that* very little opportunity is afforded to them of correcting those errors, and supplying those defects, which a *leisurely* and careful revision *could not fail* to discover.' A pretty consolation to the purchasers of a work, in which, if in any, extreme care and accuracy are required, to be told, that the editors are sensible that there are errors and defects in their remarks, but that they have no time to revise them! If they cannot find leisure to consider their own observations, much less can it

\* Mr. Hermann and his school never miss an opportunity of lavishing their censure on Porson, and on those English scholars, whom they facetiously enough term Porson's disciples; while, on the other hand, it is a sufficient title to their esteem to flatter the German critics at the expense of the English.

be in their power to weigh and compare the discordant opinions of other critics, and to pronounce a decisive judgment upon those questions of philology which the student expects to find authoritatively settled in a work of this nature. This confession opens to us the true state of the case, and makes it sufficiently evident, that the Editors are proceeding without any certain plan, except that of printing in the *Thesaurus* all that has been said pro and con about every word, and that too, without giving themselves time to consider, which of many different opinions is the true one. Yet they tell us, that—

‘ they are criticised with the same severity, as if they had expressly undertaken, what they did not undertake, to give a perfect *Lexicon*; as if they possessed, what they do not possess, unlimited resources in books and money; as if they could command, what they cannot command, all the time requisite for the undertaking; as if they had secured, what they have not secured, subscribers disposed, one and all, to wait with silent patience the slow progress of the work.’

A most extraordinary apology! If the Editors *had* undertaken to give a perfect *Lexicon*, we should have set them down as arrogant and ignorant pretenders. But they certainly did undertake to give a *Lexicon* as nearly perfect as the circumstances of the case would admit of; and we defy them to say that they have done this, or any thing like it. They *did* possess unlimited resources in books; not in their own libraries perhaps, but in the public repositories of literature. It is never a valid excuse for any scholar to say, that he did not consult this or that book. The answer is, he ought to have done so; and if we are told that this would have demanded a greater expenditure of time and money; we reply, that we would rather wait longer, and pay more, for a good book, than have a bad one immediately at less expense; and we venture to answer for the subscribers, *one and all*, that they would have preferred waiting for some years, till the editors should have collected their materials, and digested their plan, to the speedy publication of an ill-arranged and confused mass of information; just as, if we were in want of a residence, we should collect all our building materials, and take the opinion of an experienced architect, and endeavour to combine symmetry and comfort in the projected edifice, even if the delay of a few years should intervene; rather than build a room or two, as soon as we had got together a few bricks and joists and planks, and afterwards add two or three apartments yearly, without any previous plan. As to the confusion and want of arrangement, of which we have complained, the learned editors very coolly observe, ‘ that the scholar, having easily obtained from the *Index*, the information required, will scarcely stop to consider why it was

put in this or that place, but will be, *or ought to be*, thankful that it was put *anywhere*! To resume our parallel, this is much as if an architect, to whose judgment and taste we had confided the planning and erecting of our house, should place the kitchen in the attic story, and make a water-closet the vestibule to our withdrawing room, and then should tell us, 'My good sir, these are very necessary and comfortable parts of your house; instead of quarrelling with their situation, you ought to be very thankful that I have put them anywhere.'

Many symptoms occur, besides those which we have already noticed, of the haste and want of consideration with which the editors have proceeded. Of these we shall notice only a few, of various kinds. We have before remarked one species of inconsistency of which the editors are guilty, in their abbreviations of authors' names; another fault, of greater importance, is the manner in which they quote the titles of works; for instance, in page 96, we find one of the imperfect lexicons, published by Mr. Bekker, mentioned with its title at full length, *Συναγωγή λεξέων χρησίμων ἐκ διαφόρων σοφῶν τε καὶ ῥητόρων πολλῶν* in Bekkeri Anecd. Gr. t. i. p. 334.; while, in another place, we find the same lexicon quoted without any title, except 'Bekkeri Anecd. Gr. t. i. p. 335.' and in a third place, it is called 'Grammaticus S. Germ.;' in page 119. it is twice quoted within five lines, with its full length title; but in page 137 we find *Συναγ. Λέξ. χρησ.*; in page 143 it appears again at full length; and in page 145. *Συναγωγή Λεξέων χρησίμων*. All this bespeaks great haste and inattention.

P. 327. *Ἀγαλματοποιητικὸς, ἡ, ὄν, Conficiens statuas*. It should be, 'ad statuarum confectionem pertinens,' which meaning is rightly assigned to *ἀγαλματοουργικός*.

P. 330. *Ἀγαλμοτυπής*. This word, the editors inform us, is contracted from *ἀγαλματοτυπής*, as *χαρίεις* from *χαριτοίεις*, *χαριδότης* from *χαριτοδότης*, &c. and then we have a long discussion about *χάρις* and *χάρα*, having nothing to do with *ἀγαλμοτυπής*. It appears to us much more probable, that all these words are formed from the nominative or accusative case, and not from the genitive. We must here take the liberty of expostulating with Sir Home Popham and the first Lord of the Admiralty, for having given to the telegraphic machine, invented by that gallant officer, the barbarous name of *Semaphore*, instead of *Sematophore* or *Semophore*—either of them ugly enough. We may expect, about fifty years hence, to find the word *Σημαφόρος* put down in the 199th number (as near as we can guess) of the *Thesaurus*, with a reference to 'Pophamii *Tactica*.'

P. 355. We have the word *Χαράγγελος*, without any interpretation; and at the end of the article, which is twenty-one columns removed

removed from the word *Ἀγγαλος*, we find the following remark ; ' Obiter ex J. Seageri MSS. monemus ἄγγελος etiam de fœmina (fœmina) dici, ut Eurip. *Androm.* 82.' A remark not only out of place, but perfectly useless, since we had in page 334, '*Ἀγγελος, ου, ὁ, ἡ, Nuntius, Nuntia,*' of which latter meaning the editors themselves give three instances from Homer. It is clear therefore, that when they set down Mr. Seager's remark in its wrong place, they did not take the trouble of referring to their own article upon the word itself.

P. 364. *Ἀγγελία*. Elocutio, sensu rhetorico. It is not 'elocutio,' but 'narratio.'

P. 365. *Ἀγγέλιος* is given as a Greek word, on the authority of Hesiod, *Ἀγγελίη πωλεῖται ἐπ' εὐρέα νῦτα θαλασσης*; but the editors remark, that the true reading is *ἄγγελιης*, as in the best editions; yet *ἄγγέλιος* they say, is a true Greek word, because there was a bishop of that name in the reign of Valens. (He is called, however, by Socrates the historian, *Ἀγελλιος*, which was probably his true name.) By the same process of reasoning we might be led to admit into the *Thesaurus* all proper names; and yet we do not find that the editors have noticed *Εὐάγγελιος*, or *Πυθάγγελος*, or many others. For ourselves, we should be disposed to give all proper names: we only notice the present instance, as a proof of that want of consistency of which we complain.

P. 369. *Εὐαγγέλια*, plurali numero, *Sacrificium ob lætum [s. rei feliciter gestæ] nuntium*. This word is given as the plural from *Εὐαγγέλιον*, whereas it is the neuter plural of the adjective *Εὐαγγέλιος*, which is set down in page 370. *Εὐαγγέλια θύειν*, as *διαβατήρια θύειν*, and the like.

P. 370. *Εὐαγγελίζω* et *Εὐαγγελίζομαι* stand at the head of one article; and, in page 372, *Εὐαγγελίζειν* et *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* at the head of another. We do not understand why these verbs are given in the indicative mood in one case, and in the infinitive in the other.

P. 68. *Ἀνταγωναχτέω*. 'Vicissim indignor, Eus. P. E. p. 253.' G. Wakefieldius in MSS. Upon which we have the following note. 'Annon intelligi debet Euseb. *Præf. Evang.*? Sed nobis hæc scribentibus liber ad manum non est.' Without intending to derogate from the praise of ingenuity which is due to the editor for this happy conjecture, we cannot help remarking, that Mr. Valpy might have settled the question by referring to a very common book, which twenty libraries, within his reach, would have supplied him with.

P. 374. *Ἀναγγελία*, Designatio. J. Poll. viii. 139. *de legatis, Τὰ πράγματα, ἀναγόμεναις, ἀνακλήρουσι, ἀνάβησις, ἀναγγελία*. Marmor antiquum

antiquum ap. Koen. ad Greg. Cor. p. 618. ΤΑΣ ΔΕ ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΙΑΣ (sic duabus literis, ut videtur, male repetitis, pro ΑΝΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΙΑΣ, quod deinde recurrit) ΤΩΝ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΝ (ΕΠΙ) ΜΕΛΕΙΑΝ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΘΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΤΡΑΤΑΓΟΙΣ. E Chandleri Inscript. 22. affert Schneider. in Add. ad Lex. p. 686. Æschyli Prom. 682. Ἦκον δ' ἀναγγέλλοντες αἰολοστόμους Χρησμούς, ἀσήμεους δυσκρίτας τ' εἰρημένους.

Now, in the first place, nothing can be less like the meaning of 'Ἀναγγελία than 'Designatio.'—When ambassadors returned with an answer to the proposals which they had carried out, their report was termed ἀναγγελία. When a crown was awarded to one who had deserved well of the state, the decree was proclaimed in the theatre, and this proclamation was called ἀναγγελία. Secondly, why the passage of Æschylus is quoted here, and not under the verb ἀναγγέλλω, we are unable to discover.

*Ibid.* 'Ἀνάγγελτος, ὁ, ἡ. 'Silentio suppressus.' This is the only interpretation given by the editors, who immediately quote from Hesychius a gloss of Heliodorus, in which the word signifies *nuntiatius*; and this is the only authority given for it. We have next a note of Villosion's, which to all appearance is about ἀνάγγελτος, but, upon examination, it turns out to refer to ἀνάπυστος.

P. 375. 'Ἀναγγελλῶ is given as a Greek word upon the authority of an inscription, Δοκιμάσουςι καὶ ἀναγγελιοῦσιν ἐν ἀλία. The true reading probably is ἀναγγελοῦσιν. We do not understand why inscriptions are sometimes given in capital letters and sometimes in the small characters.

P. 381. Under the head 'Ἀπάγγελσις, which is not interpreted nor explained, nor indeed has one word said about it, we have first, a list of words ending in σις. Now the word 'Ἀντιπερόνησις happens to be mentioned by Spitzner in his book on Greek heroic verse; and at the end of the same book is a dissertation of a Mr. Friedemann on the middle syllable of the Greek pentameter, in which Ἰωνίς, a name of Minerva, is mentioned; accordingly the editors give us half a column about this epithet, which they tell us *ought* to have been given in page 318. And then, because the subject of omissions is on the carpet, they give us another half-column about ἀσχημος and εὐσχημος, which is to be added to their dissertation in page 329. And all this is tacked on to 'Ἀπάγγελσις, so that we have here an actual instance of a long article, at the head of which stands a word, that is never again mentioned, nor any where explained. All this is perfectly inexcusable. If the editors thought it necessary to make additions to their former observations, they ought to have reserved them for an appendix, and not to have foisted them



them in under words, with which they have not the remotest connexion; and in places, where no student would think of looking for them. The *Thesaurus* is a book not to be read through, but to be consulted as occasion requires; and one indispensable requisite is, that every thing should be in its proper place. This rule is altogether neglected by the present editors; nothing can be more disorderly or irregular than the way in which their information is thrown together; the book is a perfect chaos, a hodge-podge of Greek.

The editors are generally very unfortunate in their attempts to explain Greek phrases by corresponding English terms. For instance, in page 393, we have a passage from Aristophanes, *Lys.* 1049. Ἄλλ' ἐπαγγελλέτω Πᾶς ἀνὴρ καὶ γυνή, Εἴ τις ἀργυρίδιον δέεται λαβεῖν, &c. where they observe, *Anglice dixeris, To command my best services*, which is totally unlike the real meaning of Ἐπαγγέλλειν. In page 394. the words of Thucydides, στρατιάν ἐπαγγέλλαν ἐς τοὺς ξυμμαχοὺς, are rendered, *Ordering allies, in conformity to treaties, to furnish the necessary supplies*, instead of *giving notice to the allies to furnish their quota of troops*.

In p. 404. we have the following remark. 'Thucyd. viii. 10.

Ἐν δὲ τούτῳ τὰ Ἱσθμια ἐγίνετο, καὶ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπηγγέλθησαν γὰρ ἐθεώρου ἐς αὐτά.' Hoc Valla et Port. referunt ad τὰ Ἱσθμια, et sic Schol. Cod. Cass. qui ad hæc verba adnotat, αἱ σπονδαὶ δηλοῦσι. Steph. et Acacius ad οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, et Steph. vertit, Denuntiatum vel indictum erat Atheniensibus, ut adessent.' Duker, Utrō modo verba acceperis, parum refert: αἱ σπονδαὶ ἐπηγγέλθησαν, *The celebration of the festival had been formally proclaimed*; οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐπηγγέλθησαν, *The Athenians had been summoned to attend*.' αἱ σπονδαὶ cannot mean 'the celebration of the festival', but 'the truce', which sense of the passage the editors entirely overlook in their version; and as to their *parum refert*, the truth is that it does matter a great deal; their first interpretation cannot be true; for if the verb had been referred to τὰ Ἱσθμια, it would have been in the singular, as in the first part of the sentence, τὰ Ἱσθμια ἐγίνετο—ἐπηγγέλθη γάρ.

These inadvertencies, which we are willing to ascribe to haste, occur within the first few pages which we chanced to open. Probably the proportion may be less in the following numbers; indeed it is hardly possible that the editors should not improve as they proceed: but the want of care and consideration which is observable in the first numbers, is sufficient to detract very materially from the value and utility of the entire work, even if the remaining portion of it should be executed with greater skill and accuracy. Of its most important defects we have produced only a very few specimens; but we can assure our readers that, upon inspecting

inspecting the work itself, they will find all these defects existing to a far greater extent than even our animadversions might lead them to suppose.

We have been sincerely unwilling to dwell with minuteness upon the failure of an undertaking, the arduousness of which can be appreciated only by a few: but we are compelled to observe, that in proportion to its difficulty, the caution and diligence of the editors ought to have been great and exemplary: and considering the probable extent of the work, its expensiveness, and the certainty of its precluding any other attempt to publish an improved *Thesaurus*, we think that they were bound in honour and justice to spare no expense of time and labour, which might enable them to satisfy the reasonable expectations of the subscribers and the public. To this end it was undoubtedly their duty, to mark out for themselves a well defined and intelligible plan of proceeding; to submit it to the learned world for their approbation or correction, with a specimen of the execution; to collect their materials beforehand; to select, to incorporate, and to arrange, omitting whatever was superfluous; to study the utmost possible conciseness, precision, and distinctness; never to distract or to perplex the mind of the student by a tissue of irrelevant and incoherent remarks, nor by an enumeration of discordant opinions; but to present him with information at once decisive and satisfactory, in the most compendious form, with clear references to the sources from which it was derived. We are sorry to observe, that the mode of proceeding, which has been adopted by the present editors, is the very reverse of all this. Their plan seems to have been, from the very first, uncertain and undefined; the outlines of it were never laid before the public; the materials seem to be collected as they proceed, and to be thrown together without the least regard for arrangement or perspicuity; inso-much that it is frequently necessary to hunt in three or four different places for information respecting a single word; while, on the other hand, a discussion on one word is made to embrace dissertations on twenty or thirty other words: there are no traces of an attempt at selection; nothing is omitted, nothing is abridged nor epitomized, conciseness is lost sight of, indistinctness and confusion pervade the whole work. All this is the more to be regretted, because the editors are by no means wanting in erudition, nor deficient in materials for this great undertaking; these indeed they possess in such abundance, that with an ordinary share of discretion, and judgment, and patience, they might have constructed a *Thesaurus*, which should have been, what the present never can be, a complete and systematic body of philology, a well-furnished storehouse of sound criticism, and of valuable information

formation upon every subject connected with Greek literature. As it is, they have thrown together brick and stone, marble and rubbish, in a kind of Cyclopean masonry, without cement or clamp, massive indeed and ponderous, but unshaped and inelegant; a striking monument of ill-directed labour, but unserviceable for the purposes of common life.

We must not omit to remark, that the editors manifest a commendable impartiality in their quotations from contemporary scholars, although they are disposed to speak in somewhat exalted terms of their own decrees. Mr. E. H. Barker is generally understood to be the chief, if not the sole, conductor of the present work; and we could therefore have dispensed with such expressions as 'vide omnino nos in *Classical Recreations*'—'Recte E. H. Barker in Epistola Critica ad Thomam Gaisford,'—'Errasse virum doctissimum ostendit E. H. Barker,'—'Porsoni errorem notavit E. H. Barker.'

Our general opinion of the new *Thesaurus* may be collected from the foregoing remarks, the length of which is only to be justified by the consideration, that the reputation of our country for classical learning is materially involved in this great undertaking: a still more important consideration is, that it effectually precludes all hope of a more perfect and useful *Thesaurus*. New editions of Stephens had been for some years preparing in Germany and France, which have since been relinquished; and the materials collected for them poured, as Mr. Dibdin elegantly expresses it, in his *Bibliomania*, 'almost voluntarily, as well as absolutely, into the capacious reservoir of A. J. Valpy.' The present editors have spared no expense; their research has been indefatigable, and their own reading very extensive; but they should have taken time and advice. We are told that 'they have, for their director and guide, the first and most accomplished scholar in the kingdom.' That the eminent scholar, here alluded to, was consulted in the first instance, and gave his sanction to the undertaking, we have no reason to doubt; but we venture to assert, from the opinion which we entertain of his profound learning and chastised judgment, that he neither does nor can approve of the execution of the work. It is quite clear that he is neither their director nor their guide, because Mr. Barker himself acknowledges that the work is 'autoschediastic,' and that he has not time to revise even his own observations. Mr. Dibdin, with his usual felicity of phrase, talks of the editors, as having 'entrusted to their conduct a monument more lasting than brass:' more lasting indeed it is likely to be, as we have already shown; and we should not be surprized if it were to outlast not only the brass, but the gold, as well as the lives of the subscribers.

The

The execution of the work, in point of typography, is upon the whole deserving of praise; and does credit to Mr. Valpy's accuracy, and to the care of the corrector; the printing from so many different MSS and scraps of paper must be very trying to the patience and skill of the compositor and reviser.

The magnitude of the present work forbids us to hope for a more accurate and useful *Thesaurus* of the Greek language. It would be vain to expect an equal number of subscribers to any similar undertaking. But what we do hope to see executed is, a copious Greek and English *Lexicon*, alphabetically arranged, after the plan of Schneider's book, which we have more than once referred to; but on a more extended scale. A great deal of the difficulty, which the Greek language presents to the youthful student, is to be attributed to the circumstance of the best dictionaries, and most of the best grammars being written in Latin; a language, into which it is impossible to transfuse the spirit, or the idiomatic peculiarities of the Greek; and in itself more difficult of acquirement. With respect to grammars, we have no longer any reason to complain, while we possess, in our vernacular tongue, the very useful Greek grammar of Dr. Valpy, and the more copious and elaborate performance of Matthiæ. A *Lexicon*, such as we have described, was undertaken by a gentleman, whose promise of literary excellence was cut off by an early death.

We have been informed that a similar work has been undertaken by the author of a Greek grammar, which he was pleased to term *philosophical*, but which undoubtedly was not philological; and unless he has greatly improved in his perception of the genius of the language, and in his acquaintance with its writers, we augur but little good of his enterprize.

In taking leave of the editors of this enlarged *Thesaurus*, we once more assure them, that we have great respect for their zeal, perseverance, and research, but little or none for their judgment or taste. We have selected for reprehension only the most prominent defects of the work; and how little soever they may relish the impartiality of criticism, yet if the effect of these remarks should be to make them exercise a sounder discretion, a maturer deliberation, a more discriminating judgment, we shall have deserved well, not only of the eleven hundred subscribers, but, as far as their reputation is concerned, of the editors themselves.

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ART. III.—1. *Dictionnaire Infernal; ou Recherches et Anecdotes sur les Démons, les Esprits, les Fantômes, les Spectres, les Revenans, les Loup-garoux, les Possédés, les Sorciers, les Sabbats, les Magiciens, les Salamandres, les Sylphes, les Gnomes,*  
les

- les Visions, les Songes, les Prodiges, les Charmes, les Maléfices, les Secrets merveilleux, les Talismans, &c. &c. &c.* Par J. A. S. Colin de Plancy. 2 vols. Paris, 1818.
2. *Histoire de la Magie en France depuis le commencement de la Monarchie, jusqu'à nos Jours.* Par M. Jules Garinet. Paris. 1819.
  3. *Danske Folkesagn, samlede af J. M. Thiele.* Copenhagen. 1818.
  4. *Deutsche Sagen, herausgegeben von den Brüdern Grimm.* 2 vols. Berlin. 1816—18.
  5. *Des Deutschen Mittelalters, Volksglauben und Heroensagen,* von L. F. von Dobeneck. Berlin. 1815.
  6. *Tales of the Dead, principally Translated from the French.*

**T**ALES of supernatural agency are not read to full advantage except in the authors by whom they are first recorded. When treated by moderns, much of their original character must necessarily evaporate; like tombs, which lose their venerable sanctity when removed from the aisles of a cathedral, and exposed in a museum. We reason where the writers of former days believed, and the attention of the reader is riveted by the earnestness of their credulity. Besides which, the very outward appearance of their volumes diffuses a quiet charm. Before us is now lying the '*Malleus Maleficarum*,' as printed on the eve of Saint Katharine, Queen, Virgin and Martyr, in the last decennary of the fifteenth century; the mellow tint of its pages, the full glossy black letter, the miniated capitals, the musky odour of the binding, all contribute to banish the present busy world, and to revive the recollection of the monastic library from whence it has wandered. And once within the cloistered precinct, we are reluctant to doubt the veracity of that grave friar, the venerable Henry Institor, seated at his desk in the sunny oriel, and devoutly employed in describing the terrific Sabbath of Satan and the nocturnal flights and orgies of his worshippers.

Monsieur Colin de Plancy, who is insensible to these associations, has no respect for preceding demonologists. 'The greater part of the works,' he says, 'which have hitherto been composed upon superstitions, are only ridiculous heaps of folly, or imperfect compilations, or cold and imperfect discussions:' and with true French emphasis he proceeds to boast, that in the work before us — 'il s'est proposé d'épargner au lecteur la peine de feuilleter des milliers de volumes.'—Monsieur Colin, however, does not make good the promises held forth either in his preface or in his diffuse title-page, at least his compilation contains a great deal of spurious lore which is sadly calculated to deceive the student of the occult sciences. We are quite sure that the most attentive perusal of the '*Infernal Dictionary*' will never enable any philomath, however intelligent

telligent and well-starred he may be, to take a bachelor's degree in the Black Art at Dom Daniel College, or to put his soul in peril in the far-famed caverns of Toledo.

Monsieur Jules Garinet intimates that his work has peculiar claims on the public attention, 'the moment,' as he says, 'being arrived when all false doctrines, both in religion and in politics, must give way to truth.' M. Jules says a good word in favour of M. Colin, whose Dictionary, according to him, 'comes recommended by the purity of the views and the extensive researches of the writer;' 'but being compelled to compress every thing relating to infernal intercourse within two volumes, he has only treated the subject in a cursory way.' 'This deficiency,' says M. Jules, 'I intend to supply, at least so far as relates to France.' But he is somewhat more faulty than his predecessor; for under the title of the 'History of Magic,' he has only given a loose outline of the history of witchcraft, thus confounding two branches of the profession, which, as every tyro knows, are essentially distinct from each other. The two German books are more instructive. M. Dobeneck is diligent and excursive, though not critical. With the literary character of Messrs. Grimm, our readers are already in some measure acquainted: it will be easily anticipated that their work is of a different description, and that a collection of tales of popular superstition, which owes its origin to their researches, cannot fail to be solid and trust-worthy. They have, however, thought fit to confine themselves to the text of the legendary stories selected by them; and, to our great regret, those illustrations are not added which their extensive learning qualifies them to bestow upon the 'Deutsche Sagen' or traditions of the ancient Germans. The third of the works enumerated in the title of this Article is compiled after the model furnished by Messrs. Grimm. It is a collection of Danish popular traditions, new and sufficiently interesting. M. Thiele, therefore, deserves our thanks for this contribution from Scandinavia. As to the Tales of the Dead, we must remark that, besides the translations, it contains one original story, so well told, that we hope the fair writer will employ her leisure on the achievements of our own country ghosts instead of presenting us with alien spectres.

When the fables of popular superstition are contemplated in detail, we discover a singular degree of uniformity in that realm wherein most diversity might be expected, in the ideal world. Imagination seems to possess a boundless power of creation and combination; and yet the beings which have their existence only in fancy, when freely called into action, in every climate and every age, betray so close an affinity to one another, that it is scarcely possible to avoid admitting that imagination had little share in giving them their shape and form. Their attributes and character  
are

are impressed by tokens proving that they resulted rather from a succession of doctrines, than from invention; that they were traditive, and not arbitrary. The vague credulity of the peasant agrees with the systematic mythology of the sages of primæval times. Nations whom the ocean separates, are united by their delusions. The village gossip recognizes, though in ignorance, the divinities of classical antiquity, and the Hamadryads of Greece and the Elves of Scandinavia join the phantoms who swarm around us when, under the guidance of the wizzard, we enter that gloomy dell,—

‘ where the sad mandrake grows  
Whose groans are deathful, the dead-numbing nightshade,  
The stupifying hemlock, adders tongue,  
And martagan.—The shrieks of luckless owls,  
We hear, and croaking night-crows in the air;  
Green-bellied snakes, blue fire-drakes in the sky,  
And giddy flutter-mice with leather wings,  
And scaly beetles with their habergeons  
That make a humming murmur as they fly.  
There in the stocks of trees white fays do dwell,  
And span-long elves that dance about a pool  
With each a little changeling in their arms:  
The airy spirits play with falling stars,  
And mount the sphere of fire.’

Amidst the evanescent groups whose revels are embodied in the noble lines of the moral dramatist, the Fairies are the most poetical and the most potent; and many theories respecting their origin have been founded on their names. Morgain la fay has been readily identified with Mergian Peri. We may, however, be allowed to observe, that arguments drawn from similarity of sound are frequently convincing without being conclusive. The romance of Merlin describes Morgain as a brunette; in spite, however, of this venerable authority, the fairy dame is evidently *Mor-Gwynn*, the white damsel, corresponding with the white women of ghostly memory, and a true-born child of the Cymry. It is not our wish to dispute about words: we merely object to the inferences drawn from this coincidence, which, united to others of the same class, seem to have given some plausibility to the supposition that the character of the fairy has arisen from the amalgamation of Roman, Celtic, Gothic, and Oriental mythology. We are loth to dissent from an opinion which has been advocated by that mighty master, Walter Scott; but the converse of the proposition is the truth. The attributes have been dispersed and not collected. Fables have radiated from a common centre, and their universal consent does not prove their subsequent reaction upon each other, but their common derivation from a common origin.

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In all discussions connected with ethnography great confusion has arisen from the employment of the terms *Northern* and *European*, *Oriental* and *Asiatic*. Whatever geographers may say, the inland line of demarcation between Europe and Asia is as purely gratuitous as the division between the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, and no inconsiderable portion of the generalizations resulting from the usual practice of classing nations as Europeans and Asiatics, and then placing them in apposition or in opposition, is equally unfounded. Denominations so applied add to the embarrassment inseparable from the synthetical history of nations; they should be discarded from our books; man must be classed according to his blood, and not according to his *habitat*. But even these classifications, which are conformable to the varieties into which the human race has been moulded by nature, may tend to confuse our investigations if insisted upon too rigidly. We must not forget that there was a time when all mankind spake one tongue and were gathered together as one family; nor does it matter whether we seek their original seat in the plains of Shinar, or in the mythic regions of the snow-clad Caucasus.

Mythology has not been diffused from nation to nation, but all nations have derived their belief from one primitive system. It is with fable as with language. The dialects of the Hindoo, the Gothic and the Pelasgic tribes betray a constant affinity, but they did not interchange their nomenclatures. Neither did one tribe borrow the religious fictions of the other. Each retained a modification of the belief of the parent stock. The Dewtas of Meru, the warlike forms of Asgard, and the inhabitants of Olympus, all emanated from the thrones and powers which had been worshipped by one mighty and energetic race.—Sabaism announced itself in another mode. But all mythology has been governed by a uniform principle, pervading its creations with plastic energy, and giving an unaltering and unalterable semblance of consistency to the successive developments of error. Divested of its mythic or poetic garb, it will be found that the creative power is the doctrine of fatality. Oppressed by the wretchedness of its nature, without some infallible guide, the human mind shrinks from contemplation, and cowers in its own imbecility; it reposes in the belief of predestination, which enables us to bear up against every misery, and solves those awful doubts which are scarcely less tolerable than misery.—The Gordian knot is cut, and the web is unravelled, when all things are seen subordinate to Fate, to that stern power, which restrains the active intelligences of good and evil, dooming the universe of spirit and of matter to be the battle-field of endless strife between the light and the darkness.—Whether the rites of the ‘false religions full of pomp and gold’ have been solemnized in the sculptured cavern:

vern or in the resplendent temple, in the shade of the forest, or on the summit of the mountain, still the same lesson has been taught. Men and Gods vainly struggle to free themselves from the adamantine bonds of destiny. The oracle or the omen which declares the impending evil, affords no method of averting it. All insight into futurity proves a curse to those on whom the power descends. We hear the warning which we cannot obey. The gleam of light which radiates athwart the abyss only increases its horror. No gift which the favouring intelligence strives to bestow upon a mortal can be received without an admixture of evil, from which the powerful spirit of beneficence cannot defend it; but neither can the malice of the eternal enemy prevail and triumph; it may scath but not consume.

Upon fatality and the tenet of conflicting power, popular mythology is wholly founded, the basis reappears in every trivial tale of supernatural agency, and the gossip sitting in the chimney nook is imbued with all the wisdom of the hierophants of Greece, or the magi of Persia. As the destroying principle appears more active in this lower world, Oromanes has prevailed in popular belief. Orb is involved in orb, the multiplied reflexions become fainter and fainter, the strange and fantastic forms are variously tinted and refracted, some are bright and glorious as the rainbow, others shadowy and grey, yet all turn unto the central image, the personification of the principle of Evil.

The legendary Satan is a being wholly distinct from the theological Lucifer. He is never ennobled by the sullen dignity of the fallen angel. No traces of celestial origin are to be discerned on his brow. He is not a rebellious *Æon* who once was clothed in radiance. But he is the Fiend, the Enemy, evil from all time past in his very essence, foul and degraded, cowardly and impure; his rage is oftenest impotent, unless his cunning can assist his power. He excites fright rather than fear. Hence, wild caprice and ludicrous malice are his popular characteristics; they render him familiar, and diminish the awe inspired by his name; and these playful elements enter into all the ghost and goblin combinations of the evil principle. More, the platonist, did not perceive the psychological fitness of these attributes, and he was greatly annoyed in his lucubrations by the uncouth oddity of the pranks ascribed to goblins and elves; they discomposed the gravity of his arguments, and in order to meet the objections of such reasoners as might venture to suspect that merriment and waggery degraded a spiritual being, he sturdily maintains that 'there are as great fools in the body as there are out of it.' He would not observe that the mythological portrait was consistent in its features. Laughter is foreign to the serenity of beneficence. Angels may weep, but they would forfeit their essence were they to laugh. Mirth, on the contrary, is the consort of concealed

spite, and if not invariably wicked or mischievous, yet always blending itself readily with wickedness and mischief. Sport, even when intended to be innocent, degrades its object; though the best and wisest of us cannot always resist the temptation of deriving pleasure from the pains which we inflict upon our fellow-creatures by amusing ourselves with their weakness. From this alliance between laughter and malice arose the burlesque malignants whom the mythologists have placed amongst the deities. Such is the Momus of the Greeks, and his counterpart Loki, the attendant of the banquets of Valhalla. And the same idea is again the substance of the Vice of the ancient allegorical drama.

Equally dramatic and poetical is the part allotted to Satan in those ancient romances of religion, the *Lives of the Saints*: he is the main motive of the action of the narrative, to which his agency gives fulness and effect. But in the conception of the legendary Satan, the belief in his might melts into the ideality of his character. Amidst clouds of infernal vapour, he develops his form, half in allegory and half with spiritual reality:—and his horns, his tail, his saucer eyes, his claws, his taunts, his wiles, his malice, all bear witness to the simultaneous yet contradictory impressions to which the hagiologist is compelled to yield. This confusion is very apparent in the demons introduced by St. Gregory in his *Life of St. Benedict*. A poet would maintain that they are employed merely as machinery to carry on the holy epic. A monk must believe in them more strongly than in the gospel.

When the saint was once saying his prayers in the oratory of St. John, on Monte Casino, he saw the Devil in the shape of a horse-doctor, but with a horn in one hand and a tether in the other. Satan spoke civilly to St. Benedict, and informed him that he was going to administer a drench to the beasts upon two legs, the fathers of the monastery.\* By an interpunctuation the text has been made to import that St. Bennet saw the Devil in the more questionable shape of a doctor of physic, riding, as doctors were wont to do before the introduction of carriages, upon a mule. This has been the favourite reading, and accordingly when the old painters treated the miracle, they usually represented the Devil in the regular medical costume, with a urinal, and a budget full of doctor's stuff behind him. It is hardly necessary to observe, that

\* *Quadam die, dum ad Beati Johannis oratorium pergeret, ei antiquus Hostis in mulomedici specie obviatus factus est.*—The vulgar reading, against which Abbot Angelo de Nuce exclaims, points the passage thus,—*ei antiquus Hostis in mulo, medici specie obviatus factus est.*—This may be the true reading, particularly if, as has been conjectured, the dialogues are written by a later Gregory. And after all the whole is taken from the Legend of Saint Melanios, in which it is found nearly in the same words. And the Devil of St. Melanios acknowledged that he was a Doctor to all intents and purposes.

the Saint did not allow the Devil to do much mischief in his medicinal capacity.

Another time a complaint was made to St. Benedict respecting the conduct of a monk belonging to one of the affiliated monasteries, who would not or could not pray with assiduity. After praying a little while, he used to walk away and leave the rest of the fraternity at their devotions. Benedict ordered him to be brought to Monte Casino, and when the monk, as usual, became heartily tired of prayer and prepared to go out of the oratory, the saint saw a little black Devil tugging at the skirts of his gown as hard as he could pull, and leading him to the door. 'See ye not who leadeth our brother?' quoth St. Benedict to Father Maurus and Pompeianus, the prior. 'We see nought,' answered they. After two days' prayer, Maurus, who was in training to be a saint, was able to see the little black Devil at the skirts of the monk's gown as clearly as St. Benedict himself; but the imp continued invisible to Pompeianus. On the third day St. Benedict followed the monk out of the oratory and struck him with his staff. He was not sparing, we may suppose, of the baculine exorcism, for after it had been administered, the monk, as we are told by St. Gregory, was never more infested by the little black Devil, and remained always steady at his prayers.

Amongst the innumerable anecdotes and histories of the Devil in the lives of the saints, some are more ludicrous, and, if possible, more trivial, others more picturesque. Saint Anthony saw the Devil with his head towering above the clouds, and stretching out his hands to intercept the souls of the departed in their flight to heaven. According to our modes of thinking we should be apt to consider such representations merely as apologues. But there was an honest confidence in the actual existence of the machinery of devotional romance. The hagiologist told his tale in right earnest: he was teaching matters of faith and edification: and we may be charitable enough to believe that he was persuaded of the truth of his legends. Yet the dullest piety could not peruse them without an obscure though indelible sensation of the affinity between allegorical imagery, and these supposed approaches of the evil one. Obedient devotion thus struggled against the reasoning faculty, which felt the impersonality of the personification, yet without being able to attain either vivid belief in the fiction, or a clear perception of its non-entity. Just as when we dream between watchfulness and slumber; we are conscious that the sounds which we hear and the sights which we see originate wholly from the brain, but our reason refuses to obey our judgment; and we cannot rouse ourselves and think, and shake off the delusion.

Sometimes the Devil is a thorough monkey, and his malice is

merely playful. Year after year did he lie in wait for the purpose of defeating the piety of Saint Gudula. Manifold were the assaults to which her virgin frailty was exposed. But all were vain. At length he summoned up all his power for one grand effort. It was the custom of this noble and pious maiden to rise at cock-crowing, and to go to church to say her prayers, her damsel walking before her with a lantern. What did the author of all malice now do? . . . he put out the candle! The Saint set it a-light again, not by any vulgar method, but by her prayers. And this is her standard miracle. The relation in the legend is a wonderful and almost unparalleled specimen of bombast and bathos, and as such we give a specimen of it below.\* The Devil also appears to be a very thoughtless devil. Once, whilst St. Martin was saying mass, St. Britius, whose name hath retained a place in the protestant calendar, officiated as deacon, and behind the altar he espied the Devil busily employed in writing down on a slip of parchment, as long as a proctor's bill, all the sins which the congregation were actually committing. Now St. Martin's congregation were any thing but serious; they buzzed and giggled, and the men looked upwards, and the women did not look down, and were guilty of so many transgressions, that the Devil soon filled one whole side of his parchment with short-hand notes from top to bottom, and was forced to turn it. This side was also soon covered with writing: the Devil was now in sad perplexity; he could not stomach losing a sin, he could not trust his memory, and he had no more parchment about him. He therefore clenched one end of the scroll with his claws, and took the other between his teeth, and pulled it as hard as he could, thinking that it would stretch. The unelastic material gave way and broke: He was not prepared for this; so his head flew back, and bumped against the wall. St. Britius was wonderfully amused by the Devil's disaster, he laughed heartily, and incurred the momentary displeasure of St. Martin, who did not at first see what was going forward. St. Britius explained, and St. Martin took care to *improve* the accident for the edification of his hearers. The moral is not to our purpose; but we quote the anecdote as an exemplification of the stupidity involved

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\* Sed ancilla Christi, genu flexo procumbens arenis provolvitur, sordido pulvere crinis aspergitur, totisque animæ medullis Dominum deprecatur, Miserere, inquit, O Deus, mei laboris, miserere mei, quamquam obstantibus reatibus meis digna ferentis, tamen de tua protectione præsumptis; laqueos insidiatoris disjice, obscuritatis ceriferam repagula remove; istamque candelam reaccendi jube, ne gaudeat inimicus de me. Tu enim servientis plasmatæ emancipator, nos sub laxo horribici anguis jugo captos, tuæ mortis pretio reddidisti liberos. Obsecro igitur Redemptor Fortis, ne nos patiaris rursus subjacere raptui prædonis avidi. Quid multis morer? Annuit his votis Deus dexter et secundo vultu prosperat ac suo nutu reaccensâ lucernâ fidelem suam corroborat. Plus solito micanti vibrat lychuus radio; adeo ut cerneret illum vicum illustrari sole novo. —The wind puffed out the candle, and the maiden puffed it in again. And this singular feat became the miracle in which so much infernal and divine machinery is employed.

in the popular allegory of Satan. In all his dealings he is sure to be baffled and cheated. When he sues, his bill is dismissed, or he is nonsuited and sent out of court 'without a day,' with his ears drooping and his tail clapped betwixt his legs. After paying a fair market price for the body and soul of the wizzard he is sure to lose his bargain from the equivocal wording of the covenant.\* And at the moment that he is agreeing for the first living thing which is to pass over the bridge which he has built over the yawning chasm, the freemason joyfully anticipates the disappointment of the infernal workman, when compelled to accept the worthless animal by which the literal meaning of the contract is to be satisfied.

More familiar demons are such as are enumerated in the homely rhymes of John Heywood, who tells us that

'In John Milesius any man may read  
Of divels in Sarmatia honoured  
Call'd KOTRI or KOBALDI, such as we  
PUGS and HOBGOBLINS call; their dwellings be  
In corners of old houses least frequented,  
Or beneath stacks of wood; and these convented  
Make fearful noise in buttries and in dairies,  
ROBIN GOODFELLOWS some, some call them FAIRIES.  
In solitarie rooms these uproars keep,  
And beat at doors to wake men from their sleep,  
Seeming to force locks be they ne're so strong  
And keeping Christmase gambols all night long.'

At first we may not be pleased with the infernal relationship assigned to the lithe and sportive subjects of Oberon and Titania; but Heywood is supported in the arrangement of his 'Lucifugi' by the authority of all the orthodox theologians of the last age, whether Catholics or Protestants, who, with many a text and argument from Scripture and the Fathers, laboured earnestly and effectually in proving that the kith and kin of the queen of Elfland are no other than Satan himself in various disguises.—Such is the first who answers to our call, the merry wanderer PUCK, who long had a domicile in the house of the grey friars at Schwerin in Mecklenburgh, which he haunted in the form of a Pug or monkey. Puck, notwithstanding the tricks which he played upon all strangers who visited the monastery, was sufficiently useful to its inmates; he turned the spit, drew the wine, and cleaned the kitchen, while the lay-brothers were snoring: yet, in spite of all these services, the monk to whom we owe the '*Veredica Relatio de Demonio Puck*,' has pro-

\* The latest story of this kind which has appeared in print, is that of the lord of Tinvelly, which is well told by Mr. Rose in his *Court of Beasts*. Old Nostradamus, who agreed that the Devil should fetch him if he was buried either in the church or out of it, left directions in his will to be put in a hole in the wall. A friend informs us that Jack of Kent, who learnt bridge-building from the devil, practised the same expedient.

perly described him as an 'impure spirit.' The Puck of Schwerin received for his wages two brass pots and a party-coloured jacket, to which a bell was appended.

*Friar Rush* is Puck under another name. Puck is also found under the character of **ROBIN GOODFELLOW** or **ROBIN HOOD**,—the outlaw acquired his bye-name from his resemblance to the unquiet wandering spirit. The Robin Hood of England is also the Scottish **RED CAP** and the Saxon spirit **HUDKEN** or **HODEKEN**—so called from the hoodiken, or little hood or hat which he wore, and which also covers his head when he appears in the shape of the *Nisse* of Sweden.

Hooдекin was ever ready to aid his friends or acquaintance, whether clerks or laymen. A native of Hildesheim, who distrusted the fidelity of his wife, said to him, when he was about to depart on a journey,—I pray thee have an eye upon my wife whilst I am abroad: I commend my honour to thy care:—Hooдекin accepted the trust without anticipating the nature of his labours. Paramour succeeded paramour—Hooдекin broke the shins of the first, led the second into the horse-pond, and thrust the third into the muck-heap; and yet the dame had well nigh evaded his vigilance. —'Friend,' exclaimed the weary Devil to the husband, when he returned to Hildesheim, 'take thy wife back; as thou left'st her, even so thou find'st her; but never set me such a task again: sooner would I tend all the swine in the woods of Westphalia, than undertake to keep one woman constant against her will.'

In Swedeland Puck assumes the denomination of **NISSEGDRENG**, or Nisse the good knave—and consorts with the **TOMTEGUBBE**, or the *Old Man of the house toft*, who is of the same genus: they are found in every farm-house, kind and serviceable when kindly treated, yet irascible and capricious; and the dairy-maid has an ill time of it, who chances to offend them. In the neighbouring kingdom of Denmark the Pucks have wonderful cunning in music; and there is a certain jig or dance called the *Elf-king's dance*, well known amongst the country crows, which yet no one dares to play. Its notes produce the same effect as Oberon's horn—old and young are compelled to foot it to the tune, nay, the very stools and tables begin to caper; nor can the musician undo the charm unless he is able to play the dance backwards without misplacing a single note, or unless one of the involuntary dancers can contrive to pass behind him and cut the strings of the fiddle by reaching over his shoulder.

The names of Spirits of this class are pertinent and significant. From 'Gubbe,' 'the old man,' employed as the name of a demon, the Normans seem to have formed **GOBLIN** or **GOBELIN** (quasi **GUBBELEIN**). Saint Taurinus expelled him from the Temple of  
Diaua



Diana at Evreux; though he continued, says Ordericus Vitalis,\* to haunt the town in various shapes, but harmless and playful, for the saint had bound him to do no further injury. The Devil of Evreux seems to have migrated from thence to Caen. In the course of last summer the citizens of the good town of William the Conqueror were much annoyed by him; he was arrayed in white armour, and was so tall that he looked into the upper-story windows. Monsieur le Commandant chanced to meet the intruder in a cul de sac, and challenged him, but the Demon captiously answered—*Ce n'est pas de toi que j'ai reçu ma commission, et ce n'est pas à toi que je veux en rendre compte*,—and six more devils started up all of the same size, and clad in the same uniform; whereupon the Commandant thought it prudent to decamp. The Spanish DUENDE appears to correspond in every respect to the Tomte-gubbe, and the name, according to Cobaruvias, is contracted from *Dueño de Casa*, the master of the house. This Demon was particularly noted for his powers of transformation, and thus in Calderon's excellent comedy of 'La Dama Duende,' the gracioso, or clown, maintains that he appeared in the shape of a little Friar.

— Era un Frayle  
tamaño y tenía puesto  
un cucurucho tamaño  
que por estas señas creo  
que era duende capuchino.

In all these instances the influence of language in embodying belief and giving it tenacity, is very apparent. A more curious exemplification of this process is afforded by the name of Puck as applied to the Evil one, which also furnishes a striking proof of the steadiness with which the meaning first annexed to a verbal sign adheres to it throughout the modifications which it receives in language, whilst the mind retains the leading idea annexed to the root with equal obstinacy. The gradual transition from delusion to sport and merriment, and from sport and merriment to mischief, and from mischief to terror is very observable. PÆCCAN or PÆCCAN, (A.S.) signifies to 'deceive by false appearances, to delude, to impose upon.' In the cognate Nether Saxon, the verb PICKEN

\* Ordericus Vitalis concludes his story by shewing why the Devil was allowed to range as a *detenu* in the town of Evreux, instead of being sent at once into close confinement in the black hole. The following is his relation of the Goblin's adventure.—*Signa quoque nonnulla per S. Taurinum apud Ebroas adhuc quotidie fiunt. Demon etiam, quem de Diane phano expulit, adhuc in eadem urbe degit, et in variis frequenter formis apparens neminem ledit. Hunc vulgus GOBELINUM appellat, et per merita Sancti Taurini ab humana lesione coercitum usque hodie affirmat. Et quia jussu sancti antistitis sua frangendo simulachra obsecundavit, in baratrum non statimmersus fuit: sed in loco ubi regnaverat pœnas luit, videns salvari homines, quibus jamdudum ad detrimentum multimode insultavit.*

signifies to gambol, and when inflected into *PICKELN* and *PAEKELN*, to play the fool. From the Anglo-Saxon root we have *PACK* or *PATCH*, the fool,\* whilst from *PICKELN* and *PAEKELN* are derived *PICKLE*, a mischievous boy; and the *PICKLE-HÄRIN* of the Germans, a merry-andrew or zany, so called from his hairy, or perhaps leafy vestment. According to this analogy, Ben Jonson introduces the devil *PUCKHAIRY*, who probably appeared in the shaggy garb which he is well known to have worn in his character of Robin Hood, or Robin Goodfellow. *PUEKE* and *PUCK* are the sportive devils of the Goths and Teutons. When used in a milder sense, it became *POIKE* (Sueo-Gothic), a boy, and *PIGA* (A.S.), *PIGE* (Dan.), a girl, from their playfulness. *PUG* in old English, and *BOGLE* in Scottish, are equivalent to *Puck*; and some of our readers may not be aware that the monkey acquired the name of *Pug* from his malice. *BWG*, in the British language, is a goblin; and *BOG*,† the angry god of the Slavi, is still the same identical term. *BUCCA* (A.S.) a goat, and *BUCK*, were so called from their skittish, savage nature; the former being the favourite incarnation of Satan. In *BAKXETA* we trace the mischievous mirth and wild inspiration caused by the delusion of wine; and we think that in *PECCARE* we discern the agency of error and deceit.‡

According to the Scandinavian mythology, which is the chief foundation of all our popular creeds, Odin assumes the name of the *NIKAR* or *HNICKAR* when he acts as the destroying or evil principle. In this character he inhabits the lakes and rivers of Scandinavia, where, under the ancient appellation of the *NIKKER*, (the Scottish Kelpie,) he raises sudden storms and tempests, and leads mankind into destruction. There is a gloomy lake in the island of Rugen, its waters are turbid, and its shores covered with thick woods. This he loves to haunt; here he vexes the fishermen, and amuses himself by placing their boats on the summits of the loftiest fir-trees.

Propitiatory worship is offered to the being which is feared.—So strangely has the hagiology of the middle ages amalgamated itself with the more ancient popular mythology, that the *Nekker*, (our old Nick,) by an easy transition, became the *St. NICHOLAS*, the patron

\* Diversions of Purley, vol. ii. p. 269.

† We observe that Mr. Scott, in his 'Harold the Dauntless,' chooses to consider the Selarionian Zernebock, the 'Black Demon,' as a Scandinavian deity, and Mr. Lawrence Templeton has committed the same error in *Ivanhoe*. Both Mr. Scott and Mr. Templeton seem to have been misled by old Elias Schedius.

‡ The same root is possibly the origin of the *BOCKET*, a *Larva*, or *terriculamentum* which school-boys use to make by scooping out a turnip. A friendly antiquary suggests also that *OLD POKER* or *TOM POKER*, who haunted the nursery in Horace Walpole's time, belongs to the same family. And we suppose him to have been the Sueo-Gothic *TOMTE-PUEKE*, or *HOUSE PUCK*.

of sailors, whose aid is invoked in storms and tempests. Many churches near the seashore, both in this country and on the continent, are dedicated to him, and many a prayer to St. Nicholas is yet offered by the seaman sailing by. The common people in Catholic countries also misunderstand the attribute of the Saint. With them the three clerks in the tub, who always accompany his image, are considered as three sailors in a boat.

The Scandinavian Nekker generated the River-men and River-maids, the Teutonic Nixes. None of the latter are more celebrated than the nymphs of the Elbe and the Saal. In the days of paganism, the Saxons, who dwelt in the district between these rivers, worshipped a female Deity, whose temple was situated in the town of Magdeburg or Meydeburgh, 'the Maiden's Castle;' and who still continued to be feared as the nymph of the Elbe in after-times. Often did she appear at Magdeburgh, where she was wont to visit the market with her basket hanging on her arm—she was gentle in her manner, and neat in her dress, and nothing differing in appearance from a burgher's daughter; yet one corner of her snow white apron appeared constantly wet, as a token of her aquatic nature.\* Pretorius, a credulous yet valuable writer of the sixteenth century, tells us, that the Elbe nymph sometimes sits on the banks of the river combing her golden hair, a description agreeing with the rude 'counterfeyt' which Botho has given, probably from tradition, of the goddesses of Magdeburg. Beautiful and fair as the Nixes seem to be, the ruling principle retains its unity—the evil is only veiled—and the water-nymphs assert their affinity to the deluder, the tormentor, the destroyer. Inevitable death awaits the wretch who is seduced by their charms. They seize and drown the swimmer, and entice the child; and when they anticipate that their malevolence will be gratified, they are seen gaily darting over the surface of the waters.

We have been informed by credible witnesses that the late inundations in the Valais were caused by demons, who, if not strictly Nekkars or Nixes, are at least of an amphibious nature.† There is a mountain, near the Vallée de Bagnes, upon which the Devils use to meet; and in January, one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, two mendicant friars from Sion, who had received information of this unlawful assembly, ascended the hill for the purpose of ascertaining their number and intentions.—'Reverend Sirs,' quoth a Devil who came forward as spokesman, 'there are so many of us here, that if we were to divide all the alps and all the glaciers

\* The tradition ascribed to the *Mermaid's well* in the *Bride of Lammermoor*, is in truth imitated from a tradition relating to the nymph of the Elbe, given by MM. Grimm.

† This story is current amongst the peasants in the neighbourhood of St. Maurice, where it was related to us, last summer.

between us, share and share alike, we should not have a pound weight a-piece.' When the glaciers first burst, the Devil was seen swimming down the Rhone with a drawn sword in one hand and a golden ball in the other: as soon as he came opposite to the town of Martigny he cried out in patois, '*Aigue essaüça*,' and immediately the obedient river swelled above its banks, and destroyed the greater part of the town, which is yet in ruins.

By philosophizing upon popular mythology were formed the Nymphs or Undines of Paracelsus. This 'most excellent, erudite and widely-famed physician,' who combined a certain portion of poetical and romantic fancy with his madness, has thought it necessary to give advice to those who chance to become the husbands of an Undine, and even those of a mere mortal might perhaps profit by a sober application of the moral of the apologue. Secrecy and constancy are enjoined by the nymph, and her commands are to be strictly observed, or her love is forfeited for ever; she will plunge into her watery home, leaving her partner in cheerless solitude. Paracelsus often appeals to the fate of that valiant knight Sir Peter of Stauffenburg in support of the problems which he lays down. Fairy love, according to the older authority of Gervase of Tilbury, was enjoyed upon the same conditions; and the doctrine is fully exemplified in the adventures of Lanval and Gralent, of Melusina and Meliora, no less than in the history of Venus and Anchises.

Thanks to the pious care of the Inquisition, there are but few memorials remaining of the popular mythology of the Spaniards; it therefore becomes interesting to collect its imperfect vestiges. Such is the legend relating to the demoniac origin of the princely family of Haro. Don Diego Lopez, the Lord of Biscay, was lying in wait for the wild boar, when he heard the voice of a woman singing. The damsel was standing on the summit of a rock; exceedingly beautiful, and richly attired. Don Diego offered to marry her; she told him that she was of high lineage, and accepted his hand, but upon this condition,—he was never to pronounce a holy name. The fair bride had one foot like the foot of a goat—this was her only blemish: yet Diego loved her well, and had two children by her, a son, named Iniguez Guerra, and a daughter. It happened, as they were sitting at table, that the Lord of Biscay threw a bone to the dogs; a mastiff and a spaniel quarrelled about it, and the spaniel gripped the mastiff by the throat and throttled him. 'Holy Mary,' exclaimed Don Diego, 'who ever saw the like!' The lady instantly grasped the hands of her children. Diego seized the boy, but the mother glided through the air with the daughter, to the mountains. In the course of time, Don Diego Lopez invaded the land of the Moors, who took him prisoner, and bound him, and as a prisoner they led him to Toledo. Greatly did Iniguez Guerra grieve at the captivity

captivity of his father; and the men of the land told him, that there was no help, unless he could find his mother. Iniguez rode alone to the mountains, and behold! his fairy mother stood on the rock.—‘My son,’ said she, ‘come to me, for well do I know thy errand.’—And she called PARDALO, the horse who ran without a rider in the mountains, and put a bridle into his mouth; and told Iniguez Guerra that he must neither give him food nor water, nor unsaddle him nor unbridle him, nor put shoes upon his feet; and that in one single day the demon-steed would carry him to Toledo.\*

There is a philosophy involved in these parables. The consortship of an immortal being is bestowed upon humankind, and the slight tribute of obedience to a single behest, will ensure the happiness of the mortal. But his will is enslaved; Destiny allows him not to rise above the frailty of his race by perpetuating the mystic union; and power is given to the evil principle to mock his transient bliss, and to dash away the cup of happiness which had been placed at his lips. The fated thought rankles in his mind, the forbidden word is uttered, and the ethereal intelligence departs for ever, but in sorrow and in mourning. And as she mourns the separation, she yet strives to shed a benignant influence upon the object to whom she was wedded. Aphrodite watches the fortunes of her son. The Rock-nymph of Biscay rescues her captive husband. And Melusina weeps over the cradles of her sleeping babes, and her lamentations are wafted by the nightly winds which eddy round the hoary towers of Lusignan.

Snorro Sturleson, or whoever else the compiler of the Prosaic Edda may have been, teaches us that the Elves of light, the white fays of Ben Jonson, sojourn in *Alf-heim*, the palace of the sky; whilst the bowels of the earth receive the Swart-elves, the Elves of darkness: immortality is the lot of the first, for the flames of ‘Surtur’ will not consume them, and their final dwelling-place will be in *Vid-blain*, the highest heaven of the blessed; but the last are obnoxious to disease and death. The modern Icelanders chuse to consider the elvish commonwealth as an absolute monarchy, at least they believe that their elves are governed by a viceroy who

\* The conclusion of the legend exhibits the fairy dame as appearing again in Biscay in the shape of an incubus.

— For spirits when they please  
Can either sex assume, or both.

The steed of Iniguez Guerra reminds us of the mysterious horse of Giraldo de Cabrejo the Knight of Catalonia, who always brought good fortune to his master. This horse would dance amongst the beauties of the court of King Alphonso, to the sound of the viol, and do many other arts bespeaking strange intelligence, far surpassing a horse's capacity. Gervase of Tilbury could not settle the genus of this animal to his satisfaction. If he was a horse, exclaims the Chancellor, how could he perform such feats? If he was a fairy, why did he eat?—*Otia Imperialia*, l. iii. c. 92.

travels twice a year to Norway accompanied by a deputation of Pucks, to renew their fealty to the supreme monarch who still resides in the mother-country; it being evident from the contexture of the fable that the elves, like themselves, are merely colonists in the island. Closely allied to the dark elves are the Dwarfs or *Dvergars* of Scandinavia. The Norwegians ascribe the regularity and polish of rock chrystal to the diligence of the little denizens of the mountains, and their voice is heard in the *dverga-mal*, the mountain echo.—From this poetical personification arose a peculiar system of Icelandic metre called *Galdra-lag*, or the magical lay, in which the last line is repeated at the end of each stanza; and when a ghost or a spirit is introduced singing in an Icelandic Saga, it is the *galdra-lag* which is always employed. In another variety of the *galdra-lag* the beginning of each line is repeated: this system is found in some of the metrical charms of the Anglo-Saxons. Such repetitions have a solemn monotonous sound, and hence, without the help of fiction, it has occurred to other bards. Dante employs the *galdra-lag* in the inscription placed over the gates of Hell, and Pope concludes his elegy in this magic strain.

It has been thought that the real prototypes of the mythological *Dvergars* are found in the Finnic inhabitants of Scandinavia. But we now begin to doubt the accuracy of the opinion. Certain it is that the Finns were proud of dealing with the Devil, until that species of commerce was declared to be contraband; and they were ever dreaded as wizzards and conjurors. But notwithstanding their skill in magic and in metallurgy they must be distinguished from the cunning workmen who manufactured the hammer of Thor, the golden tresses of Siva and the wealth-begetting ring of Odin; and who hold a conspicuous situation in the wild cosmogony of the Asi. If we were to develop these mysteries according to the true hieroglyphical wisdom of the ancient Rosicrucians, we might contend that these beings were personifications of the metallic element, or of the gases which are its vehicles within the bowels of the earth, filling the veins which become pregnant with the ore, and circulating along with the electric and magnetic life of the macrocosm.—At all events they are too purely allegorical to have resulted from the ideas of magic annexed to the character of the scattered Finlanders. A stronger inference of their primitive antiquity may be drawn from their appearance in the very ancient traditions of the Teutons as preserved in the *Niebelungen lay*, and in the *Book of Heroes*, which both originated and were matured in regions where the Finn never pitched his tent, and amongst mountains in whose recesses he never was secluded. Of late years there have been a great many doubts respecting the orthodoxy of the *Edda*; and the learned and intelligent Professor Rask of Berlin has

has attacked its authenticity with great zeal : it is therefore satisfactory to the antiquary to compare the Book of Heroes with the Edda. Long as the Teutons had been separated from the Scandinavian nations, their fables still maintained the utmost uniformity, and this coincidence proves, that neither have been corrupted or interpolated.

Mining countries have often become the strong hold of popular mythology. Cornwall may be instanced; and thus also the Harzwald in Hanover, the remnant of the Hercynian forest, is entirely enchanted ground. 'In this district,' says an old author, 'are more than an hundred and ten capital mines, some of which have small ones belonging to them; some are worked for the king of Great Britain (as Elector of Hanover) on his own account, and the rest farmed out. According to ancient chronicles King Ilung held his court at Weringerode in this forest, about the time of Gideon, judge of Israel, and Ilung was the son of King Laurin the dwarfish monarch and guardian of the garden of roses, who flourished in the time of Ehud, judge of Israel, in the year of the world 2550.'—These dates have been ascertained by the diligent chroniclers of the uncritical ages, who took great pains to force ancient fables into synchronism with the facts recorded by authentic historians. In the existing text of the Book of Heroes the Hercynian forest is not assigned to the sway of Laurin; but the chroniclers were probably also guided by local traditions, and even now the dwarfs and cobolds (spirits of the mine) still swarm in every cavern.\*

Malignity is constantly ascribed to the goblins of the mine. We are told by the sage demonologist quoted by Reginald Scott, 'that they do exceedingly envy man's benefit in the discovery of hidden treasure, ever haunting such places where money is concealed, and diffusing malevolent and poisonous influences to blast the lives and limbs of those that dare attempt the discovery thereof.—Peters of Devonshire with his confederates, who, by conjuration, attempted to dig for such defended treasures, was crumbled to atoms as it were, being reduced to ashes with his confederates in the twinkling of an eye.'

Peters of Devonshire sought his fate. But the Demons who

\* The Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius notices a lake in Thessaly, to which, if brass was brought in the evening it would be manufactured into any shape required, by certain genii who inhabited the waters. The old treatise de Mirabilibus Britanniae describes a similar lake in England. 'Est lacus si volueris reparare quodlibet suppellex ferreum domus tue exceptis armis: porta ad lacum quod volueris reparare, et prandium quantum volueris et mitte super ripam lacu cibum et ferrum et recede. Postea perge ad lacum, et invenies suppellectilem bene paratum.' A third traditionary version of the fable has its seat in the Teutonic Harzwald, and there the dwarfs who inhabit the caverns of Elbiagerode assist the peasantry, by lending them brass pots and kettles, andirons, trivets, spoons, &c. when they wanted them for their weddings; and for which, as in England, they were paid in victual.

haunted



haunted mines were considered as most tremendous. 'The nature of such is very violent; they do often slay whole companies of labourers, they do sometimes send inundations that destroy both the mines and miners, they bring noxious and malignant vapours to stifle the laborious workmen; briefly their whole delight and faculty consists in killing, tormenting and crushing men who seek such treasures. Such was Annabergius, a most virulent animal that utterly confounded the undertakings of those that laboured in the richest silver mine in Germany called *Corona Rosacea*. He would often shew himself in the likeness of a he-goat, with golden horns, pushing down the workmen with great violence, sometimes like a horse breathing pestilence and flames from his nostrils. At other times he represented a monk in all his pontificals, flouting at their labour and treating all their actions with scorn and indignation, till by his daily and continual molestation he gave them no further ability of perseverance.'\*

Like all other ancient nations, the Scandinavians cherished the belief in the existence of tutelary Spirits, and the Icelanders had reason to be peculiarly grateful to them for defeating the enterprize of king Harold Gormson. The king of Norway, as we are told in his Saga, was desirous of learning the internal state of the island, upon which he longed to wreak his vengeance, and to that intent he bade a skilful Trolldman, or magician, fare thither, changing himself into such a shape as might best conceal him. The magician changed himself into a whale, and swam to the island; but the rocks and mountains were covered with opposing 'Land-vættur,' or guardian spirits, who prepared to defend their trust. The magician, nothing appalled, swam to Vapna-ford, and attempted to land, but a huge and hideous dragon unwreathed his folds down the sides of the rocks, and followed by innumerable serpents, descended into the æstuary, spitting venom against the intruder. The whale could not oppose them, and swam westward to Oreford; but there came down a bird whose wings extended athwart the bay from mountain to mountain, followed by countless flocks of spirits in the same shape. And when he attempted to enter Bridaford on the southern coast, a mighty bull rushed down and waded into the sea roaring tremendously, and the guardian spirits of Bridaford accompanied their leader. The unwearied magician now swam to Vrekariskinda; there he beheld a giant

\* Some will perhaps suspect that this virulent animal Annabergius was in truth a certain familiar spirit now called Hydrogen gas.—Sir Humphry Davy's safety lamp would have been an effectual spell against all the Demons of the Crown of roses; and Boulton and Watt, by employing the strong arm of the Enchanter Steam, would have enabled the luckless workmen to defend themselves against the inundations which they poured into the mine.

coming to meet him whose head ranged over the very summit of the snow-clad mountains. He was armed with an iron club, and a crowd of gigantic spirits followed him to the shore. This story is worthy of notice, because it proves that the Scandinavians had their elemental intelligences according to the true Paracelsian doctrine. Earth sent her spirits in the form of giants; the Sylphs appeared as birds; by the Bull, water is obviously typified; and the Dragon proceeded from the sphere of fire.

Hecla is in some degree connected with the Scandic mythology. The Northmen were converted soon after its terrors became known to them, and when they became Christians they could only consider it as the mouth of hell, like Etna and Vesuvius and Stromboli, each of which has good claim to be considered as the *facilis descensus Averni*; since (to say nothing of old Boots) Nero and Theodoric of Verona, and Julian the apostate, and Dagobert, and Queen Elizabeth, and Anna Bullen have all severally been seen to sink into their sulphureous flames: but this baleful mountain could not fail to be the resort of the spirits of fire, whom tradition had probably known in Scandinavia or in Asgard. Their great opponent was Luridan. It is written in the 'book of Vanagastus the Norwegian,' that Luridan the spirit of the air 'travels at the behest of the magician to Lapland, and Finmark, and Skrickfinia, even unto the frozen ocean.—It is his nature to be always at enmity with fire'—and he wages continual war with the fiery spirits of the mountain Hecla.—'In this contest they do often extirpate and destroy one another, killing and crushing when they meet in mighty and violent troops in the air upon the sea. And at such time many of the fiery spirits are destroyed when the enemy hath brought them off the mountain to fight upon the water: on the contrary when the battle is on the mountain itself, the spirits of the air are often worsted and then great mournings and doleful noises are heard in Iceland, and Russia, and Norway for many days after.'—

Amongst the minor spirits of the sphere of fire, Jack-with-the-lantern, whom Milton calls the Friar, and Will-with-the-wisp must not be forgotten. According to the chronicle of the Abbey of Corvey, brother Sebastian was seduced by one of these infernal link-boys on the mystic eve of St. John, in the year 1034, as he was returning home in the evening after having preached at a neighbouring village—and on the following day brother Sebastian died. Well hath it been sung by the Frenchman,

Où sont fillettes et bon vin  
C'est là où hante le Lutin—

and it is to be greatly feared that poor brother Sebastian met with his fate in consequence of having intruded into the Lutin's quarters. The German peasants believe with reasonable consistency that

Will-

Will-with-the-wisp is of a very fiery temper and easily offended. They have a 'spott reim,' or mocking verse, which angers him mainly when he happens to hear it.

Heerwisch! ho! ho! ho!

Brennst wie haberstroh

Schag mich blitzeblo!

About thirty years ago a girl of the village of Lorsch wantonly sang out this rhyme whilst Will was dancing over the marshy meadows: instantly he followed the maiden; she ran homewards as fast as her legs could carry her, vainly striving to escape the spiteful goblin, but just as she was crossing the threshold of the door, Will flew in after her, and struck every person in the room with his fiery wings so violently that they were stunned by the shock. It requires no great sagacity to divine the positive nature of this electric demon; with him also must be classed the fire-demons who point out concealed treasures by playing in livid flames on the surface of the ground, or over the sepulchral mound; the Trolchs who light the Grave-fire, and the Moon of the grave, and the warden spirits who wrap the dungeon tower of the castle of Kufstein in lambent fire.

When the northern aurora beamed through the sky, the Scandinavians hailed the 'holy light:' as it is yet called in Norway; for they believed that it announced the approach of the Valkyrs, the maids of slaughter, proceeding from Valhalla to summon the warrior to the feast of Odin. But the Christian chronicler saw fiery armies, flaming spears and blazing swords in the splendid stream, and was appalled by the portentous illumination. A new guise was given to every vestige of the ancient faith, though the terrors which had once surrounded the King of gods and men still retained their influence long after his empire vanished before the converting swords of Charlemagne and Haco. An unwilling renunciation of the Deity of war was extorted from the Saxon; and it was a day of grief to him when, in the words of the old confession of faith, he was compelled to forsake 'all the devil's works and all the devil's words, the Thunderer, and Woden, and the Saxon Odin, and all the fiends who be their feres.' The kneeling catechumen repeated an insincere confession; succeeding generations learnt more truly to detest the errors of paganism, yet a distinct recollection remained of the warlike faith of their ancestors, nor did they doubt the existence of the Demon god. Hence the peasants still tremble when the murky air resounds with the baying of the hounds, and when the steeds holding their course between earth and heaven are heard to rush amongst the clouds, announcing the approach of the Wild Huntsman.

The origin of the name of Woden or Odin is to be traced to a  
root.

root existing in the Anglo-Saxon: it signifies the 'wild' or 'furious one.\*' This etymology would alone indicate the connexion between the 'Wütend heer' or 'wild army,' as the Wild Huntsman and his train are popularly called, and the God. But in some parts of Germany the denominations 'Grodens heer,' and 'Wodens heer,' are also current. Woden is known in Brunswick as the hunter *Hackelberg*, a sinful knight who renounced his share of the joys of heaven on condition that he might be allowed to hunt until the day of doom. They shew his sepulchre in a forest near Usslar. It is a vast unhewn stone, an ancient monument of the class which, for want of a better name, we call druidical. This circumstance is of importance in confirming the connexion between the popular mythology and the ancient religion of the country. According to the peasants, this grave-stone is watched by the dogs of hell, which constantly crouch upon it. In the year 1558 Hans Kirchof had the ill luck to wander to it; he discovered it by chance, for no one can reach *Hackelberg's* tomb if he journeys to the forest with the express intent of finding it. Hans relates, that, to his great astonishment, he did not see the dogs, although he confesses that he had not a hair on his head that did not stand on end.

All is quiet about the grave of *Hackelberg*; but the restless spirit retains his power at this very moment in the neighbourhood of the Oden Wald, or the forest of Odin, and amidst the ruins of the old baronial castle of the Rodenstein family. His appearance still prognosticates impending war. At midnight he issues from the tower surrounded by his host: the trumpets sound, the war-wains rumble, the drums beat, and even the words of command are heard which are given to the ghostly soldiery by their leader. When peace is about to be concluded, Rodenstein and his soldiery return to the ruins, but with quiet and gentle steps, and borne along with harmony. Rodenstein will come when he is called. About four or five years ago, a Jæger in the employ of a neighbouring forester who, when in England, stated the fact to us, passed by the tower at midnight. Being somewhat the better for his potations, he called to the spirit—Rodenstein, ziehe heraus!—and instantly the army rushed forth with such violence that the presumptuous huntsman was nearly frightened out of his senses.

According to the mythology of Scandinavia, the power of death is given to *HELA*, who rules the nine worlds of *Niffenheim*.

\* 'Woden,' saith Verstegan, 'signifies fierce or furious (from the A. S. *WOD*), and in like sense we yet retain it, saying, when one is in a great rage that he is *wood*, or *taketh*, as if he were *wood*.' Verstegan also says that *Waithman* (*waith* being derived from the same root) signifies a *wild or furious man*. The chronicles of the Ward of Farringdon Without, may furnish future Aubreys and Shandys with a new instance of name fatality.

Concealment is implied by this name.\* According to the popular belief of the Cimbric peasants, she spreads plague and pestilence, and diffuses all evil whilst she rides by night on the three-footed horse of hell (*Helhest*). Hela and the war-wolves retained their empire in Normandy, although, after the Northmen of Hastings became the Normans of Rollo, they seem to have lost the memory of their ancient superstitions as rapidly as they forgot their northern tongue. From Hela was generated *HELLEQUIN*; a name in which, under the disguise of romance orthography, we can have no difficulty in recognizing *HELA-KIÖN*, the race of Hela; it was those whom Richard Fearnought, duke of Normandy, the son of Robert the Devil, encountered hunting and reveling in the forest. As the romance tells, Hellequin was a knight who wasted his gold in the wars which Charles Martel waged against the heathen Saracens. When the wars were ended, he and his lineage, not having wherewithal to sustain themselves, took to wicked courses. They spared neither virgin, nor widow, nor orphan; and the sufferers cried out to heaven for vengeance. When matters had come to this pass, it chanced that Hellequin fell sick, and died, and was in fearful danger of condemnation; but the good works which he had performed by waging war against the heathen Saracens availed him: and it was allotted as a penance to him and his lineage, that, dead as they were, they should wander by night throughout the world, in bitterness and toil.

But the wild huntsman was not confined to the woods of Normandy. In the year 1598, when Henry IV. was hunting in the forest of Fontainebleau, he suddenly heard the baying of hounds and the notes of the horn, seemingly at the distance of half a league from the spot where he was placed; but as suddenly these distant sounds were close at hand. Henry ordered the Earl of Soissons to prick forward. We gather from the context that he guessed that the sounds were supernatural. Soissons obeyed; and as he advanced, he still heard the noises without being able to ascertain whence they proceeded; but a dark and gigantic figure appeared amongst the trees, and crying out '*M'entendez-vous?*' instantly vanished. This story is remarkable for many reasons. Father Matthieu the Jesuit relates it in his '*Histoire de France et des Choses mémorables advenues durant sept années de paix du règne de Henry IV.*' a work published in the lifetime of that Monarch, to whom it is dedicated. Matthieu was well acquainted with Henry, from whom, if Father Daniel is to be trusted, he obtained much information. It has been supposed that the spectre was an assassin in

\* *belan* (A. S.) In the cognate dialects the root is found with scarcely any variation. Hence *hell*, that which is concealed or hidden or unseen, *2795*.

disguise,

disguise, and that the hand of Ravailac would have been anticipated if the good king himself had approached near enough to receive the dagger. Whatever the real nature of the apparition may have been, it seems that Henry did not wish that the story should be discredited. 'Persons are not wanting,' Matthieu concludes, 'who would have ranked this adventure with the fables of Merlin and of Urganda, if the truth, as affirmed by so many eye-witnesses and ear-witnesses, had not removed all doubts. The shepherds of the neighbourhood say that it was a spirit, whom they call the *Grand Veneur*, who hunts in this forest; but they hold that it is the hunt of St. Hubert, which is also heard in other places.' The spirit appeared not far from the entrance of the town, at a cross-road yet retaining the name of 'La Croix du Grand Veneur.'

In ages of romance, a romantic immortality has been bestowed by popular loyalty on those heroes who commanded the admiration as well as the fondness of their countrymen. Those who had seen their King flushed with victory and leading on his warriors, or enthroned in majesty and wisdom, were almost reluctant to admit that he too could die. The pious cares which saved the royal corpse from the insulting victor, the chance which caused it to fester undistinguished amongst the meaner dead, contributed to nourish the longing hope that the royal warrior had yet been spared; and though withdrawn from mortal ken, they would believe, in the hour of suffering and distress, that he who had been the guardian of his people was still reserved on earth to fulfil a higher destiny. Greece revered her yet living Achilles in the white island; the Britons expected the awakening of Arthur entranced in Avalon; and almost in our days it was thought that Sebastian of Portugal would one day return and claim his usurped realms. Thus, also, the three founders of the Helvetic confederacy are thought to sleep in a cavern near the lake of Lucerne. The herdsmen call them the three Tells, and say that they lie there in their antique garb, in quiet slumber; and when Switzerland is in her utmost need, they will awaken and regain the liberties of the land. FREDERICK BARBAROSSA has obtained the same wild veneration. He was a monarch of extraordinary intellect. Anathematized as the enemy of the papal see, he was thought to favour the faith of Mahomet; whilst some suspected that he acknowledged no other deity save his Star, his ruling Fate: yet he was wise and valiant, and commanded the respect of his warlike subjects. Frederick died in Apulia; he was the last sovereign of the Swabian dynasty; and so little was his death believed in the empire, that five impostors successively assumed his name, and obtained credit with those who were discontented with the reign of Rodolph of Hapsburg. The false Fredericks were successively unmasked and

punished, yet the common people continued stubbornly to believe that Frederick was alive, and that he had warily and willingly abdicated the imperial crown. 'He is a wise man,' said they, 'and can read the stars; he is travelling in distant regions with his astrologers and his trusty companions, to avoid the evils which would have been his lot, had he remained on the throne;' and yet they trusted that he would re-appear when the good time should arrive. Obscure prophecies were circulated, which were even revived in the reign of Charles V. that Frederick was destined to unite the Eastern to the Western Empire. The Turks and heathens are to be defeated by his prowess in a dreadful battle near Cologne, and he is to regain the Holy land. Until the appointed time shall come, the Emperor is secluded in the castle of Kyffhausen, in the Hercynian forest, where he remains in a state not much unlike the description which Cervantes has given of the inhabitants of the cavern of Montesinos: he slumbers on his throne, his red beard has grown through the stone table on which his right arm reclines, or, as some say, it has grown round and round it. A variation of the same fable, coloured according to its locality, is found in Denmark, where it is said that Holger Danske, whom the French romances call Ogier the Dane, slumbers in the vaults beneath Cronenburgh castle. A villain was once allured by splendid offers to descend into the cavern and visit the half torpid hero. Ogier muttered to the visitor, requesting him to stretch out his hand. The villain presented an iron crow to Ogier, who grasped it, indenting the metal with his fingers. 'It is well!' quoth Ogier, who imagined that he was squeezing the hand of the stranger, and thus proving his strength and fortitude, 'there are yet *men* in Denmark.'

Frederick Barbarossa listens willingly to music. It came to pass many years ago, that a 'consort' of travelling musicians thought it might answer well, were they to serenade the Emperor; and so, stationing themselves on the rock, they began to play a hunt's-up just when the church clock of the town of Tilleda struck the hour of twelve. At the second strain, lights were seen above on the crag, parking through the leaves and underwood, and flitting behind the thick trunks of the trees; and immediately afterwards the Emperor's daughter advanced gracefully towards the musicians: she beckoned them to follow her, the rocks opened, and the musicians marched into the cavern, sounding their pipes and tinkling their citterns. There was no lack of good cheer in the presence-chamber of the Emperor: and they played on merrily till the dawning of the morning. Then the Emperor nodded graciously to the musicians, and his daughter presented each with a green branch, and dismissed them. The imperial donation gave little satisfaction to the poor musicians, but the awe inspired by his ghostly majesty compelled them



to accept it without murmuring ; and when they found themselves in the open air again, all, except one, threw the branches scornfully away. The musician who kept his branch intended to preserve it merely as a memorial of the adventure ; but when he reached his home it became heavy in his hand, rustling and glittering with metallic splendour, and every leaf was turned into a ducat of pure gold. When the others heard of his good fortune, they all went back to the rocks over which they had passed, and searched day after day for the treasure of which their destiny had deprived them ; but they searched in vain.

The Norman peasants believe that there is a flower which is called the *herbe maudite*—he who treads upon it continues walking round and round, imagining that he is proceeding onwards, though in fact he quits not the spot to which the magic root has bound him. This spell seems to bind us ; for we find ourselves still in company with the goblins of the mine, whom we imagined we had left far behind us. The Emperor is, undoubtedly, to be identified with those capricious powers. In the middle ages the winning of these riches became the trade of those sages who are the prototypes of the Dousterswivel of our northern enchanter, and the employment of treasure-finding was a regular profession in the mining countries, where some traces of it still remain. Each of these adepts had his own mode of operating. One was the Theurgist ; he prayed and fasted till the dream came upon him. He was a pious man, and his art was holy ; and if the eager disciple sinned against faith or chastity, the inspiration fled, the treasure vanished.

Guilt, guilt, my son ! give 't the right name : no marvel  
If I found check in our great work within,  
When such affairs as these were managing.

The natural magician smiled at the mystical devotee, whom he affected to treat either as the dupe of his own enthusiasm, or as an impostor. Trusting only to the secret powers of nature, he paced along with the divining rod of hazel\* which turns in obedience,

\* The employment of the divining rod when employed to discover ore or metal, was associated with many superstitious observances. The fact, however, of the discovery of water being effected by it when held in the hands of certain persons seems indubitable. The following narrative, which has been lately communicated to us by a friend residing in Norfolk, puts the subject in the clearest point of view. And we shall simply state that the parties, whose names are well known to many of our readers, are utterly incapable either of deceiving others, or of being deceived themselves.

'January 21st, 1818.—It is just fifty years since Lady N.'s attention was first called to this subject ; she was then sixteen years old, and was on a visit with her family at a château in Provence, the owner of which wanted to find a spring to supply his house, and for that purpose had sent for a peasant, who could do so with a twig. The English party ridiculed the idea, but still agreed to accompany the man, who, after walking

ence, attracted by the effluvia from the metals concealed beneath the soil. These are delusions, thought a bolder sage who had been instructed in the secrets of Cornelius Agrippa: and he opened the sealed book which taught him to charm the mirror, in which were seen all things, however distant or hidden from mortal view, and he buried it by the side of the cross-road, where the carcass of the murderer was wasting on the wheel, or he opened the newly made grave and caused the eyes of the troubled corpse to shed their glare upon the surface of the polished chrystal. Telesmus and pentacles, and constellated idols also lent their aid. Such were the implements of art belonging to an Italian or Spanish Cabalist.—We give the story as it was related to us many years ago by a right learned adept.—This Cabalist ascertained that if he could procure a certain golden medal, to be worked into the shape of a winged man when the planets were in a proper aspect, the figure so formed would discover all secret treasures. After great pains, he was so fortunate as to ob-

some way, pronounced that he had arrived at the object of his search, and they accordingly dug and found him correct.—He was quite an uneducated man, and could give no account of the faculty in him, or of the means which he employed, but many others, he said, could do the same.

The English party now tried for themselves, but all in vain, till it came to the turn of Lady N., when, to her amazement and alarm, she found that the same faculty was in her, as in the peasant, and on her return to England she often exerted it, though in studious concealment. She was afraid lest she should be ridiculed, or should, perhaps, get the name of a witch, and in either case she thought that she should certainly never get a husband.

Of late years her scraples began to wear away, and when Dr. HUTTON published Ozanam's researches in 1803, where the effect of the divining rod is treated as absurd (vol. iv. p. 260-7.) she wrote a long letter to him, signed X. Y. Z., stating the facts which she knew. The Doctor answered it, begging further information; Lady N. wrote again, and he, in his second letter, requested the name of his correspondent: that Lady N. also gave.

A few years afterwards she went, at Dr. HUTTON's particular request, to see him at Woolwich, and she then shewed him the experiment, and discovered a spring in a field which he had lately bought near the New College, then building. This same field he has since sold to the College, and for a larger price in consequence of the spring.

Lady N. this morning shewed the experiment to Lord G., Mr. S., and me, in the park at W. She took a thin, forked hazel twig, about 16 inches long, and held it by the end, the joint pointing downwards. When she came to a place where water was under the ground, the twig immediately bent, and the motion was more or less rapid as she approached or withdrew from the spring. When just over it, the twig turned so quick as to snap, breaking near her fingers, which by pressing it were indented, and heated, and almost blistered; a degree of agitation was also visible in her face. When she first made the experiment, she says this agitation was great, and to this hour she cannot wholly divest herself of it, though it gradually decreases. She repeated the trial several times in different parts of the park, and her statements were always accurate. Among those persons in England, who have the same faculty, she says she never knew it so strong in any as in Sir C. H. and Miss F. It is extraordinary that no effect is produced at a well or ditch, or where earth does not interpose between the twig and the water. The exercise of the faculty is independent of any volition.

So far our narrator, in whom, we repeat, the most implicit confidence may be placed, The faculty so inherent in certain persons is evidently the same with that of the Spanish *Zahories*, though the latter do not employ the hazel twig.

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tain the talisman, which he confided to a workman, who gradually hammered the metal into the astral form, using his tools only at those moments when the Master, consulting the Alfonsine tables, desired him to proceed. It happened that the smith was left alone with the statue when it was nearly finished, and a sudden thought, inspired by his good genius, induced him to give the last stroke to the magical image. His hand fell in the right ascension of the planets; the virtue was imparted, and the statue instantly leaped from the table, and fixed itself firmly on the floor. No effort of the goldsmith could remove it; but, as he guessed rightly of the true nature of the attractive influence, he dug up the pavement, under which he discovered an earthen vessel full of coin, which had been concealed by some former owner of the mansion. Who could be more rejoiced than our goldsmith? Destiny had gifted him with the means of becoming the master of all the secret treasures of the earth. He instantly resolved to appropriate the inestimable talisman to himself; and, to evade pursuit, he embarked in a ship which was then setting sail. The wind blew briskly and favourably, and in a short time they were out at sea; when the ship sailed over a treasure concealed in the caverns of the deep. The talisman obeyed its call: it sprang from the hand of its astonished owner, and, with all his hopes, was lost for ever beneath the waves.

Wretchedness, disappointment, and delusion thus invariably conclude the mystic or legendary narrations, in which human avarice is represented as yearning after gold, and attempting to wrest it from heaven or from hell. If the gift is bestowed, it becomes a glittering curse; but oftener it is denied, and Fate tantalizes the eagerness of humanity. When the Arab searches the ruined temple, the chest of stone sinks lower and lower beneath the soil. The rocks fall in and bury the treasure just when his charm is about to take; if the cavern opens before the suffumigations of the sorcerer, the treasure vanishes from his grasp. The moral is as obvious as the source of the mythos, in which we again observe the varied sway of the good and of the evil.

Our subject is far from being exhausted; but our readers, perhaps, have already begun to suspect that we betray a greater degree of fondness for the superstitions of a rude and barbarous age than is altogether consistent with the good sense and information for which, without doubt, they are willing to give us credit. We frankly acknowledge, that the perusal of Piccatrux and Cornelius Agrippa, of Delrio and Remigius, of Glanvill and Sinclair, has amused us during many an idle hour, and solaced us during many a weary one: and, in justification of our taste, it may not be improper to observe, that the 'superstitions of the middle ages' are worthy of a more

minute, and, we may add, a more philosophic and impartial investigation than they have hitherto obtained.

If the Fays sporting on the wold, or the Demons bursting from their prison-house, are considered merely as allowable subjects for the lay of the poet, and which his old charter of fiction authorises him to use with freedom, an inaccurate standard is assigned to the worth of popular mythology. So far as the idlest tales are believed and credited, they are facts; and it is as facts that they are to be studied. Poetic talent may give a graceful form to the spirit, who is uncouth in the fancy of the churl, but the essence and import of the airy being remain unchanged. And the whole creed of popular superstition is linked in the esoteric history of mankind, which is, perhaps, more instructive than the relation of the rise and fall of empires. This is equally the case with the occult sciences, as they are usually termed. Scarcely two centuries have elapsed since the whole category of magical and cabalistic and theosophic mysteries entered into the real business of life, and these fallacious pursuits were associated with severe and specious learning. Exorcisms were chanted by the priest; and arrayed in his stole, or even in his surplice, it oft became dubious whether the rites of the church were not assimilated by him to the forbidden arts of sorcery. The Astrologer was honoured in the presence-chamber of the prince. Denounced by the preacher and consigned to the flames by the bench, the Wizzard received secret service money from the cabinet, for the purpose of destroying the hostile armament, as it sailed before the wind. And the Senate quailed with fear at the recital of plots and conspiracies, when it was disclosed how traitors sought to shorten the days of the Monarch and overturn the state by tormenting waxen images with needles, or burying them with their heads downwards. In no rank of society were these hallucinations discredited or discouraged. A gloomy mist of credulity enwrapped the cathedral and the hall of justice, the cottage and the throne; and no mortal eye could discern the witchery of the visions in which all believed so strangely. Baseless as they are, they acquire an effective value, when we place ourselves in the era to which they belong; for an error which prevails universally, no one having the will or the ability to disprove it, has quite as much weight in human societies as a truth which cannot be refuted. Nor is it now an unprofitable or useless task to recall the memory of the fleeting pageant. If we wish to ascertain the strength of the human mind, we must begin our trial by searching out its weaknesses. Most faithful of all others is that warning which is given to the judgment, when it is compelled to bend back upon itself, and to dwell on the contemplation of its own follies. On the chart of the careful navigator are marked the banks of fog and vapour, which caused him to divert his helm from

from the course which he ought to have pursued, and which inspired him with vain hope or with groundless terror; inducing him to believe in the existence of happy islands, in climates where there is nought but the waste bosom of the ocean, or to dread the craggy rocks and dangerous shoals, though the billows roll on in unbroken flow. And the delineation of these unreal lands will prove as useful to the future sailor as the bearings of the firmest shores, for they apprise him of the deceit to which he may be exposed. Our vessel is built with greater science than the gorgeous though inartificial galliot of ancient days. The loadstone guides us unerringly when the load-star is lost in clouds; yet still we are destined to be tossed upon the waters, and to wander from the harbour which, fruitlessly, we strive to gain. Doubt ought still to be our companion even when we flatter ourselves that we have attained to certainty: because we have not yet learned to know ourselves, or to distrust our inborn frailty. Though neither cheered by the apparition of protecting spirits, nor fearing the enmity of the goblin or the demon, we are still as liable, as of old, to be seduced by our own delusions.

Confidence, rather than humility, is now abounding, when an estimation is put upon the character of our times. It is the common boast, that the present age, our age, the age we live in, is a period of enlightened philosophy.—The words so employed mean, in fact, that we who use them are enlightened philosophers; but let that pass.—And when it becomes necessary to make good our title to the praise which we demand, we usually bless ourselves, and expatiate with much complacency in comparing the modern advances in 'arts and sciences' and philosophy with the rudeness and barbarity of the dark ages. At the first thought, it is not easy to avoid sharing in such sentiments. We find that the inheritance of falsehood, once peculiarly the portion of our forefathers, has not descended to us. Opinions were received by them, which are now known to be preposterous by the least informed. They were obstinate in the propagation of absurdities which we have abandoned; zealous in defending the misbegotten offspring of doting ignorance, whose deformity is now universally recognized. Struck by the contrast, and valuing, sometimes overvaluing, the advantages which we unquestionably enjoy, our triumph appears confirmed. Pointing to the steam-engine and the printing-press, the telescope and the barometer, we bestow gentle pity upon the ignorance of those who are sleeping in the grave, whilst we condemn and despise the errors which they committed. Yet if their demerits are compared with ours, we may perhaps pause before we confirm ourselves in the belief of our relative superiority. We have refused to adopt the innumerable false and foolish doctrines to which the mind was formerly subjected: another modification is now given to the follies  
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and errors which owe their birth to the same generating cause, but they are still equally repudiated by common sense, and by the dictates of sound reason : and the rejection of ancient follies and errors has been effected, so far at least as the great multitude are concerned in the rejection, rather by the mighty revolution which has been brought about in our ideas and in our manners, than by any real amelioration in the intellect of the many-headed monster.

It would not be a difficult task to raise up a modern counterpart which should grin and mow at every ancient folly ; but inferences might be drawn from the array, which would be wholly contrary to our intent. Such comparisons would not be presented for the silly and heartless purpose of ministering to malice or scoffing at individual character. Let it not be supposed that they would be drawn in a spirit of sarcasm or satire, or result from a sullen insensibility to the blessings of knowledge and civilization. On the contrary, they are such as ever force themselves upon the judgment of those who are most anxious to witness the true advancement of their fellow-creatures, and to honour the great men who have been appointed to the task of leading mankind onwards in the noble path of intellectual improvement : and who, entertaining such sentiments, fear at the same time that a presumptuous estimation of the superiority which we certainly enjoy over our predecessors, may tend to foster sentiments which, if not vicious, are yet so unlike virtues, that knowledge becomes less desirable when allied to them. It is hardly a paradox to maintain that we may become uncharitable and spiteful in our treatment of our contemporaries in consequence of our scornful triumphs over the credulity of Albertus Magnus or Roger Bacon, and that by despising the ignorance of past times we crush the germ of real amelioration. Sir Thomas Brown, who stood upon the isthmus which divides us from them, has thus pointed out the main cause of their errors. 'The mortallest enemy unto knowledge, that which hath done the greatest execution upon truth, hath been a peremptory adhesion to authority, and more especially the establishing of our belief upon the dictates of antiquity. For, as every capacity may observe, most men of ages present so superstitiously do look on ages past, that the authority of the one exceeds the reasons of the other.' Other foes to knowledge have now arisen, and which are to be combated with greater difficulty. Our prevailing fault is an impatience of all teachers, of all authority, of all experience, of all precedent ; a fault which derives its principal support from the notions which we entertain of the great superiority of ourselves over all who have gone before us. Enthusiasm misleads us, and we form an estimate of the merits of our age which will be sobered by reflection. Our large words deceive us, and not only  
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are they the vehicles of false ideas, but they also always associate themselves with opinions which involve an utter contradiction.

Such is the conclusion to which we arrive. And those who are most strenuous in extolling the improvement of the present age, are usually at the same time the most earnest in deploring the obstinacy of mankind in refusing to adopt the opinions which they advocate, opinions, which, according to their representation, are either the cause or the consequence of the intellectual pre-eminence of modern times. Praises are lavished on the 'enlightened world' collectively, which are denied to all its component parts save one. Under pretence of lauding our contemporaries we are simply whispering a tribute of flattery into our own ears. And the merits with which we are so willing to invest the universal age expand from our own egotism.

Nor even where the progress of knowledge is most cheering and undeniable, should we allow it to fill us with overweening glory, because we are then too often tempted to indulge in bitterness, or even in anger, towards those who, as we imagine, are disabled by their mental inferiority or ignorance from contributing to the causes of our exultation. Calm reflection will teach us to view the trophies which have been gained by the human intellect with less complacency, but at the same time we may perhaps become subdued into a greater degree of toleration towards its failings. Science has triumphed over matter. Fire impels the vessel along the hostile element. The aeronaut soars above the eagle in the thin expanse, and the firm metals torn from the bowels of the earth fume into gas at the touch of the chemist, and wing him on his way. The triple ray of the sun has been unravelled. We ascend in contemplation on his beams, and bathe in the central flood of light and life. And we have weighed in the balance the orbs which circle on the dark verge of our universe. Bounds however have been prescribed to us, and we must not sorrow, if we who are placed a little below the angels, are not allowed to pass them. There is a truer philosophy from which we learn that our present state of being is not the existence in which we are to advance in an unchecked career of excellence. Faculties of miraculous energy and force have been given to the human mind, but they have been imprinted on dust and ashes, and united to imperfections, reminding us that they are not our own; and that we are heedless of the will, and unthankful to the goodness of the Infinite Intelligence from whom they have been derived, if we merely deem those gifts to be subservient to the poor, proud selfishness of mortality. The learning of one generation becomes folly in the next. We change our baubles, but our infirmity remains the same; and if there are immortal spectators of the fleeting drama of human life, they witness in every century the same peevish actors though



though in other garbs, and the same brief plot though slightly diversified by its interludes. Great, yet limited powers have been bestowed on man; but when he confides presumptuously in the strength which he thus attains, when the science which he derives from the study of second causes lulls him into a forgetfulness of the only Beginning of all wisdom, he is betrayed into an imbecility more lamentable than ignorance, and even the truth deceives him.—But we must cease.—Thoughts are arising which we did not anticipate, and upon which we dare not dwell; for we pleased ourselves when we began to write these pages in carelessness and in sport. And the recollections of levity should be dispelled, before it is fitting that we should cherish the feelings which we are now imparting, not by our words, but by our silence. It was forbidden even to tread the pavement of the sanctuary with the sandals which had clothed the feet, when they had walked in any paths except those contained in the hallowed precinct of the temple.

ART. IV.—1. *Grundsätze der Strategie erläutert durch die Darstellung des Feldzugs von 1796 in Deutschland.* 3 vol. 8vo. Wien.

2. *Principes de la Stratégie développés par la Relation de la Campagne de 1796, en Allemagne; ouvrage traduit de l'Allemand, et attribué à S. A. I. l'Archiduc Charles.* Paris. 3 tomes, 8vo. 1818.

3. *Geschichte des Feldzugs von 1799 in Deutschland und in der Schweiz.* 2 vol. 8vo. 1819. Wien. mit Karten und Planen.

‘I WISH, Dr. Slop, quoth my uncle Toby, you had seen what prodigious armies we had in Flanders.’ A wish which, we doubt not, was re-echoed by every veteran of the old school in the evening of his days, when fighting over his fire-side the battles of his youth: for until of late years, when greater forces have been required to ‘keep France and Frenchmen in awe’ than at any former period, the campaigns under King William and the Duke of Marlborough were referred to by every old soldier as the beau ideal of military prowess and exertion.

It was under those consummate generals that our troops first acquired that distinguished character which they have since maintained; and that such a degree of regularity and precision was given to the art of war, that the movements of hostile armies became more like a courteous and well-bred display of talent and enterprize, than the resolute and earnest attempts of men brought into the field for the slaughter of one another. After a summer spent in manœuvres, sometimes of no very decided kind, both parties retired into winter-quarters by mutual consent: if the commander

commander of an army sat down before a town, it became the object of enterprize for all the daring spirits enlisted in his cause; and the bad season passed with a degree of intercourse which softened exceedingly the asperities of war.

‘On portait,’ says Hamilton in his *Memoirs of Grammont*, ‘quelque respect aux places de guerre, avant qu’une puissance, à laquelle rien ne peut résister, eût trouvé le moyen de les abîmer par une grêle affreuse de bombes, et par le ravage de cent pièces de canon en batterie. Avant ces furieuses orages qui réduisent le gouverneur aux souterrains, et la garnison en poudre, de fréquentes sorties vivement repoussées, de vigoureuses attaques vaillamment soutenues, signalaient l’art des assiégeans, et le courage des assiégés, et par conséquent les sièges étaient d’une longueur raisonnable, et les jeunes gens avaient le tems d’y apprendre quelque chose.’

This practice, it must be acknowledged, had the effect of protracting the duration of hostilities to a very indefinite length, and the process, from its slowness, had its disadvantages. But fortified places were in those days looked upon as insurmountable barriers; and sieges could not be carried on in the depth of winter, when the ground was too hard for working in the trenches.

We have lived, however, to see the notions of our forefathers on this subject completely exploded, and a total change introduced in the mode of making war. The restless energies of France, in her republican state, allowed no repose for her own troops or those of her enemies; and the daring and impetuous spirit of Buonaparte completed the establishment of a system which has set all former rules and practice at defiance: fearlessly leaving behind him those strong places which a fortunate campaign would naturally reduce, he advanced to his object with a rapidity and a power which seldom failed of success; and regardless of the expenditure of human life which his projects might occasion, he taught his men to bivouac under every extremity of the season.

In balancing the comparative merits of these opposite modes of warfare, it will, we believe, appear that, under the old system, the consumption of men by ‘famine and the ague’ during the protracted operations of sieges and blockades, was fearfully great, and that, generally speaking, the most rapid mode of making war will prove the most humane; but in Buonaparte’s hands men were mere machines, and he sacrificed them without scruple.

‘Never,’ says the author of the “*Grundsätze*,” ‘had strategical advantages greater or more decided results than in the wars which marked the last of the 18th and the first of the 19th century, because the changes produced in the military art by the French Revolution demonstrated the possibility of moving greater masses of troops with more rapidity than had ever been done before. The facility of repairing strategical errors was at an end, the offensive gained a more decided  
advantage

advantage over the defensive system, and the knowledge of tactics became, more than formerly, subordinate to the science of war. Hence it arose that campaigns of a few weeks duration produced results which could otherwise only have been expected from a series of wars; and places fortified, but not valuable in a scientific point of view (*strategische*), became useless, whilst others, which possessed this advantage, were enabled to resist the most vigorous attacks.'

In regard to celerity of movement, the generals of the new school certainly possess a decided advantage: for though the march by which Marlborough brought up his troops before the battle of Blenheim was conducted with astonishing regularity and dispatch, as well as his celebrated advance along the Meuse, by which he so rapidly expelled the French from Belgium, yet these were exceptions to the general practice, and armies proceeded for the most part with a more measured and regular step. The French Revolution has not only taught our soldiers to manœuvre with greater rapidity, but instructed them also how to bring up with effect greater masses of troops than were formerly employed; for although it is true that the immense number of men which Buonaparte, even in his most critical conjunctures, so wonderfully contrived to have at his disposal, will, in a great degree, account for the important victories which marked his career; yet it must be allowed that the same success has sometimes attended his arms when he has been met by forces upon the same gigantic scale as his own.

'In the time of Louis XIII.' says Hamilton, '*de grands hommes commandaient de petites armées, et ces armées faisaient de grandes choses.*' But in these days a 'little army, like 'a little learning, is a dangerous thing,' and it is curious to observe, on examining the history of some of the most important expeditions, and of the greatest battles upon record, how much the military efforts of the world have increased of late years.

We of course do not admit into our calculation the undisciplined hosts which the East at various periods has poured forth; they have in all ages, from the time of Xerxes to the present day, far exceeded in number the armies of Europe; nor can the swarms from the north, which inundated the southern provinces of this quarter of the globe, fairly be taken into the account; we speak only of warfare between civilized nations; and in examining the greatest enterprizes of antiquity we shall find that Alexander conquered Asia with 50,000 men; that Hannibal had only 50,000 men at the battle of Cannæ; that Epaminondas commanded at Leuctra a force not exceeding 6000 men; and that the number of those assembled in the armies of Cæsar and Pompey to fight for the

the empire of the world at Pharsalia is stated to have been under 70,000 men.

If we turn, on the other hand, to modern times, we may observe (as might be expected indeed) a progressive increase in the military preparations. The Duke of Marlborough had at Malplaquet 120,000 men under his orders, and the force opposed to him is represented to have been of equal magnitude: and without entering into statements which may be disputed, or attempting an enumeration of the numbers actually brought into the field at the several tremendous conflicts which took place during the last war, it will be sufficient for our purpose to remark, that Buonaparte acknowledges to have had at Wagram 180,000 men, and 1000 pieces of cannon, and that at Borodino each army mustered upwards of 130,000 strong.

Although of high birth and parentage, (for the Archduke Charles of Austria is now acknowledged to be their author,) we believe the works before us are little known in this country. Few give their attention to the German language, and fewer still care to undertake a long treatise on tactics. The earliest of these publications, and that which we shall in the first instance advert to, was for some time supposed to be written either by General Bellegarde or General Meyer. Copies were sent over to the Prince Regent and the Duke of Wellington, and a translation was begun, which has never been completed. In Paris, however, one has appeared, although it hardly deserves the name; for a few notes of little importance, attributed to General Jomini, by no means counterbalance errors so numerous as to require an apology in the preface from the editors themselves.

Of those generals who have given to the world any relation of their own achievements, there is no one from whose works instruction as well as amusement may not be derived. We peruse Xenophon's account of his famous retreat, with all that anxiety and interest which belongs for the most part to fiction alone; Cæsar, in like manner, carries us along with him through all the details of the difficult wars in which he was engaged; and Frederic the Great, in his *Memoirs*, shews the hand of a master, whether he describes political or military affairs. We have instanced the most celebrated of those who have exhibited in their own persons that rare combination, talents both for command and literary attainments. The Archduke's work will be found of less general interest, being more exclusively professional, if such a term may be here employed; but still it is a very curious and valuable production; and conclusions drawn by one who commanded armies of such magnitude as the empire entrusted to his Imperial Highness, when affairs were conducted on so extensive a scale, during a period so fertile in important

important events, cannot fail of being both useful and instructive to posterity.

The art of war is one of those sciences which no theory, no application of fixed and established principles can possibly teach: it is one thing to write from experience of the past, and another to acquire a facility of directing operations by a servile adherence to the maxims of others. The rules which the Archduke has laid down for the guidance of military men are clearly defined, and not only mathematically demonstrated in the diagrams which he has given, but exemplified by a minute detail of the campaign in the year 1796. This theory and these principles had already been enlarged upon both by Bulow and Jomini, in two\* works which have obtained considerable celebrity. The Archduke, however, has perhaps the advantage in having adopted a more condensed and applicable mode of reasoning; and although he may appear, like all other German writers on military subjects, too much inclined to consider war as a game, where success may be obtained by an accurate attention to certain rules; yet there is sufficient proof that he allows its due weight to the ascendancy of talent fitted for command. He who plays chiefly by rule must often be embarrassed by the occurrence of a case for which his manual furnishes him with no precedent; and hence the danger of much theoretical knowledge, when not accompanied with the requisite experience and readiness of application.

According to M. Bulow's system, for instance, the several columns of an army when on the advance should be conducted like radii to a common centre, or point of attack, from which, when retreating, they must always diverge; and the whole art of war is thus reduced by him into these concentric and eccentric movements.

If we turn, on the other hand, to General Jomini's voluminous treatise, we shall gather, as the result of all which he has laid down, that the art of war, as exemplified by Buonaparte, consists in the proper application of three combinations: viz.—

1. The art of disposing the lines of operation in the most advantageous manner.

2. That of bringing forward large bodies of men with the greatest possible rapidity against the most important point of the main line of operations, or that which is incidental or simultaneous in its movements, &c.

3. The art of combining the simultaneous employment of the greatest part of the force which a general has under his command against the most important point of the enemy's line in the field of battle.

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\* *Système de Guerre Moderne*; par Général Bulow. *Traité de Grande Tactique*; par Général Jomini.

Now there is less of the diagram and more that is practical in these directions; but though the principles which they contain were probably acted upon by Buonaparte to a certain degree, and were followed in most instances by brilliant success, it is very questionable whether they could with safety be adopted by others.

The General, like the rest of his school, is too enthusiastic an admirer of the ex-Emperor to see any faults in the conduct of his idol; and we were struck, in reading his comparison of the campaigns of Frederic the Great and those of Buonaparte, at his want of candour in not noticing the singular difference which marks the case of the two men; inasmuch as Napoleon achieved the greater part of his victories with half of Europe under his command, whilst the King of Prussia had to contend with the most powerful states of the continent, leagued together for his destruction.

The Archduke, in his Preface, combats the received opinion, that a general (as it has been said of poets) must be born with military talents; and that, in such a case, study is by no means requisite.

‘This,’ says he, ‘is only the excuse of idleness or presumption—Genius is born with us, it is true, but a man can only become great by the cultivation of his talents.’ One so gifted may sometimes neglect the systematic course of instruction, and outstrip, as it were, common experience; he may advance to results without pausing to consider principles, but more frequently he becomes involved in inextricable difficulties, and should he reach to a high pitch of elevation, it is more commonly the effect of some peculiar good fortune than of his own individual merit. Genius, therefore, requires to be guided and directed—it must be refined, assisted, and, in some sort, kept in order; whether it be by an accidental or a fortunate train of circumstances, by the influence of what is passing without, by necessity, by the concatenation of events, by reflection, or by experience—in a word, it must be formed. And if it be true that without genius no man has ever become a great general, we shall find, on the other hand, proofs sufficient in the pages of history that those commanders of armies whose talent was rather acquired than natural, have, when they united perseverance and boldness with discernment in their projects, triumphed over those who had nothing beyond genius to trust to.

‘The work which is here produced is the result of meditation, and of experience gathered both at home and abroad. It treats of the science of war, properly so called; to which we shall give the name of Strategy, to distinguish it from the art of war commonly called Tactics. The first part contains the principles of this science, with the application of them to a supposed seat of war. In the second and third parts these principles are illustrated by a portion of the history of the late war.’

What is here observed of the dangers to which genius is too frequently exposed has been often urged to restrain the flights of talent and imagination; and there can be no question, that every officer who aspires to command should not only be skilled in the manœuvring of troops, but conversant in those higher branches of his profession on which the work before us exclusively treats: but we are inclined to think that more men are gifted with great talents for command than is commonly supposed; and that if proofs of this are not oftener exhibited, it arises more from the want of opportunity and means of distinction than from the rarity of its existence.

Marshal Saxe, in speaking of the qualifications necessary for the commander-in-chief of an army, gives the first place to courage, the second to genius, and the third to health. Under the first of these qualities must be classed that entire self-possession, that promptitude of decision, and that undaunted perseverance, which are absolutely essential to make a great general, for bravery is a virtue which he may be said to share in common with the whole of his army. By genius is here meant—a fertility of expedient, quickness of invention, and a readiness in the application and discovery of resources. Under health is included all bodily requisites—a quickness of sight, an unwearied activity, and a power of enduring continued fatigue. To find so many valuable requisites united in one person is certainly rare.

The great merit of the theoretical part of the Archduke's work consists in its simplicity and conciseness. The first chapter, which does not exceed forty-five pages, contains all he has to say on the subject; and in the first section of it, the definitions are laid down in the most clear and intelligible manner.

In order to exemplify the principles of it, the author has given us, in the second chapter, a supposed scene of action; one most fertile in military events during the course of the last war, and with which the Archduke has proved that he is most thoroughly acquainted. It comprises that extensive tract of country which lies between the Lake of Constance, the Rhine, the Main, the Eger, the Elbe, the Moldau, the Ems, and the mountains in the most northerly parts of the District of Salzburg and the Tyrol. By the help of a very excellent map which accompanies this work, (to which also belong some well engraved plans of the principal engagements mentioned,) we are enabled to follow without difficulty, and with a degree of interest which seldom belongs to such minute description, the very masterly reconnoissance which is given of this tract of country. It may indeed serve as a model to military men; the course of every river, the direction in which the various ranges of mountains or hills extend, the different communications which connect the distant parts, every accident or circumstance



circumstance of ground—all are detailed with the most careful minuteness.

Having marked out the theatre of war, and discussed such of its features as are most striking in a military point of view, a comparative estimate is given, in the next section, of the two bases of operation which the contending armies are supposed to occupy. That of the west extending from Mentz to Breisach, a distance of 41½ German miles, or fourteen days' march, is stated to have many advantages which do not belong to the other. The Rhine, in the first place, forms a strong line of defence, over which there are numerous crossings, and various roads beyond it which lead to the eastward, and which facilitate the communication between its several points; it is defended too by a line of fortresses, and at some little distance a second row is formed, which adds to its security.

The eastern basis of operation, which is supposed to reach from Steyer to Theresienstadt, a distance of 31 German miles, or ten days' march, presents no such favourable circumstances as that on the frontiers of France; the right wing alone is covered by Theresienstadt and Prague, and part of the left by the line of the Ems, but the passages across this river, as well as over the Moldau, on the right, are few and unfavourable; there is only one great road of communication, and the Danube divides it into two.

Even to those least conversant in military matters, the importance of a river, wherever the movement of troops is concerned, must be apparent. 'We shall accordingly find,' says the Archduke, upon a careful examination of the wars which have taken place in Germany at various periods, 'that the defile of the Danube is the key of this country, and that the possession of it has always decided the contest which has been fought upon the banks of that river.'

The historical part of the book opens with a summary detail of the first campaigns against France: they were altogether extremely discouraging, and gave little promise of that glorious termination which, after a long series of losses and disappointments, at last put an end to the agitations of Europe.

At the opening of the campaign of 1796, the superiority in numerical force rather leant to the side of the Austrians, as the annexed enumeration of the forces engaged will shew:—

Army of Rhine and Moselle.

General Moreau.

71,581 . . . Infantry,

6,515 . . . Cavalry.

Army of Sambre and Meuse.

General Jourdan.

65,000 . . . Infantry,

1,100 . . . Cavalry.

Army of Upper Rhine.

Field Marshal Wurmser.

60,836 . . . Infantry,

21,940 . . . Cavalry.

Army of Lower Rhine

Archduke Charles.

71,076 . . . Infantry,

20,702 . . . Cavalry.

But the advantage of ground possessed by the French was more than amply sufficient to make up for their inferiority in numbers—their basis of operations is described as in every respect preferable, and their position as of such strength that they might at pleasure assume the offensive, whilst their opponents could not attempt any forward movement of the kind without considerable hazard. In fact we should almost be led to imagine, that the Austrians hardly considered the forcible passage of the Rhine as a possible event, and this is the only mode of accounting for their neglect of the necessary precautions to strengthen the line of that river, and to bar the approaches into the German territory.

From the enumeration which we have already given of the contending armies, it will be seen that Moreau, one of the generals, was opposed to the Archduke Charles, on the Rhine; and of all the military characters which France has of late years produced, there is no one whose reputation stands so high both as a general and as a man. His retreat, in this campaign, has always been considered as a masterly display of talent, and his advance into Germany, in the following year, proved that his skill was no less adapted to the direction of the forward movements of an army.

According to the Archduke's view of the matter, Moreau's ability was not equally displayed in the whole conduct of this retreat; and as the Prince has most unreservedly pointed out the faults of his own proceedings, as well as those of the generals under his command, he may fairly be allowed to comment on those of his adversary. The chief merit of Moreau, on this occasion, appears to have been a skilful concentration of his forces, whilst those of the Austrians were scattered and divided; and the only mistake, of any importance, laid to his charge, (which is so considered by Jomini, and not even denied by his own biographer,) is that, from apprehension for the fate of Jourdan, he made a false movement to the left, which compelled him, after some loss, to abandon the project he had originally formed, of retreating by both routes of the Danube. He is blamed by the Archduke for relinquishing this advantage, as well as for a want of decision and activity after his retreat was determined upon; and it would also appear that, from an unwillingness to give up any portion of the ground he had gained, he did not fall back upon the Danube so rapidly as he ought, where he might have maintained a position the most advantageous for his future operations under every possible contingency.

Moreau's papers were seized by Buonaparte at the time of his banishment from France, which is much to be regretted, as it would have been curious to compare the accounts of two great generals of affairs in which they were so intimately engaged. From the meagre Memoir published by Beauchamp we extract what

what he gives as a letter from Moreau written at the time of which we are speaking, since it explains the motives which decided him upon the retreat which he carried into effect with so much ability.

‘The enemy,’ says he, ‘appeared only anxious to gain time, always escaping from us and giving way before us, as often as we shewed a disposition to make resistance. It was to be presumed that, after having succeeded in driving back the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, the Archduke Charles would turn with all his force upon us, and endeavour to extend himself in my rear. These powerful considerations determined me upon making a retrograde movement, in order that the army might be placed in a more compact position, where it might safely remain till that of the Sambre and Meuse should be able to resume the offensive. To assist in extricating the latter, I resolved upon detaching a body of troops to the left bank of the Danube, which might have the effect of annoying the rear of the Archduke, whilst the rest of the army, concentrated at Neubourg, might keep in check the force under General Latour, and threaten to take him in flank if he moved upon Augsburg.’—*Life of Moreau*, p. 21.

As may be expected in a work where two volumes are dedicated to the military operations of a campaign, these points are all discussed by the Archduke with great minuteness; but whatever differences of opinion may exist as to some of Moreau’s movements during this campaign, the general conduct of it is clearly of a very masterly description; and the ability of General Jourdan, to whom the Army of the Lower Rhine was entrusted, scarcely appears to less advantage. He is, however, blamed by the Archduke for a certain degree of jealousy of Moreau, which is denied by the French commentator, and for a want of sufficient promptitude in his first advance, which he justly considers as a capital error.

‘Many faults,’ says he, ‘can be amended, and many losses can be repaired, all excepting that of time. The commander-in-chief should therefore be always in the neighbourhood of his advanced-guard, all news must come to him by that channel, and by this means alone can he acquire the requisite knowledge of places and circumstances to direct his projects in sufficient time for their execution with rapidity and effect.’

Hostilities began in the quarter where Jourdan commanded, and his first operations were attended with considerable success. The Austrian generals had been forced to retreat, and the enemy was almost at the gates of Ratisbon, when the Archduke determined upon flying to the relief of the beaten army. Leaving, therefore, a force to watch Moreau, who had advanced into Bavaria, he effected a junction with Wartensleben; and, when so great a superiority of force was opposed to him, Jourdan had no chance of

safety but in immediate retreat. Having thus compelled one army to re-cross the Rhine, the Archduke turned to attack that of Moreau, who still maintained his position in Bavaria, in spite of all the efforts of the Austrian General Latour.

Augsburg and Munich had surrendered to the French arms; but fearful of the overpowering force which might now be brought against him, since his flank was left exposed by the defeat of Jourdan, Moreau's first object was to retire upon the Iller.

His retreat was a series of conflicts, of which the battle of Biberach stands the more conspicuous, and his passage through the Black Forest is certainly one of the most hazardous enterprizes of the kind upon record. To arrive at the Rhine, it was absolutely necessary for Moreau's plans that this route should be taken, though it led through the Valley of Hell, a dangerous defile, of the outlet of which the Austrians had possession.\* Jomini appears to be of opinion that if the Archduke had advanced with greater rapidity, the progress of his enemy might have been more successfully impeded; but by skilful arrangements all difficulties were overcome, and after fighting two considerable battles, Moreau retired with the remainder of his troops across the Rhine little more than six months after his first crossing it in force.

The preliminaries of Leoben, in the following year, put a stop to the exertions of Austria, and in the autumn, by the treaty of Campo Formio, peace was proclaimed between the empire and France. This, however, can only be considered as a feverish truce, and in the year 1799 hostilities were renewed. The Archduke was for a time again employed, but owing either to the state of his health, or to political circumstances, we find the chief command of the Austrian armies shortly after entrusted to other hands. General Kray succeeded to this important post, and the emperor himself having joined the army, on quitting it left the command with his brother the Archduke John. The battle of Hohenlinden then occurred, and all its fatal consequences, for Moreau, like Turenne, who is said to have been timid and circumspect in his youth, appears, like him, to have become bold and enterprising as he advanced in years. This battle clearly appears to have been lost from a want of previous concert, and an extraordinary and inconceivable degree of local ignorance.—A very little examination will be sufficient to shew that the Austrians ought never to have quitted the line of the Inn; for, by abandoning it, the

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\* When Marshal Villars, in the year 1702, was pressed by the Elector of Bavaria to traverse the Black Mountains in order to effect a junction with the Electoral forces, he is said to have written in reply, 'The Valley of Neustadt, which you mention, is that which is called the Valley of Hell. Your Highness, therefore, must pardon my using the expression, but I have not sufficient of the Devil about me to pass through it.'

Archduke John fell into the snare which was laid for him by Moreau, and found himself embarrassed in a country where his superiority of cavalry could be of no avail.

'It is an acknowledged principle,' says a very intelligent French writer on this subject, 'that the base of a plan for offensive operations should form the best possible line of defence,—and this fundamental principle cannot be violated with impunity, because nothing is more difficult than a sudden transition from offensive to defensive operations, when false measures, or an unlucky turn of affairs may have overset the plans of the General who attacks. If the line of defence which ought to have formed his basis has not been well taken up, if the advantageous points, and such as were strong by nature, have not served him as points from which to advance, they will not stand him in stead on the retreat; all will fall into confusion—the beaten army, however high in courage, cannot be brought into line except at a great distance, and will have lost at once all the advantages of the offensive in action, as well as those of positions for defensive warfare.'

This is what was unhappily experienced by the Austrians after the battle of Hohenlinden. By abandoning the Tyrol as a point of support, and the line of the Inn, they gave up almost every thing; that of the Salza, it is true, still remained, but when this also was given up, and Salzburg in the possession of the enemy, it was easy to perceive that the fate of Austria was decided; and that an army which had shewn itself unequal to maintain either of the strong lines which it had successively abandoned, was not likely to rally by retiring upon the capital of which it had already exhausted the resources.

Moreau shewed great ability in profiting by this state of affairs, and advancing with a rapidity which allowed his enemy no repose, no time to recruit his disorganized troops. The unfortunate divisions too, which at that time prevailed amongst the Austrian generals, in no small degree contributed to the want of unity which was evident in all the subsequent operations of the army; and the absence of the Archduke Charles, who possessed the talent of conciliating the good will of those under him without relaxing from the strict course of military discipline, could not fail of being felt most severely at this crisis.

Our limits will not permit us to enter into any lengthened inquiry on the probable causes of the decided superiority on the part of France, which marked the long succession of hostilities we have briefly noticed. A few remarks, however, on the subject will not be superfluous.

'Austria was worsted,' says the Archduke, in the conclusion of his work, 'because to the operations of the French, which were grounded on a well combined system of fortresses, a careful survey of the whole theatre of war, and the direction to one end of all the force employed,

she had only to oppose the bravery and superior organization of her army, and some splendid, although insulated, exploits of her commanders.'

But we suspect that the seat of the evil lies deeper.

'In spite of the example of Laudon and of the Archduke Charles,' (says a writer who appears to have formed a very accurate estimate of the intrinsic merits of the different European armies,) 'the Austrians have always kept on the defensive within lines and positions, and have never availed themselves of the advantages which they might have derived from a more active and energetic system of warfare. There is no change required in the Austrian army, for it is, as a body, as much superior to that of the French, as the French soldier individually excels the Austrian; but the Imperial Generals always make war after their own heavy and immovable manner. The French only seek to attain their object with a total disregard of what it may cost; the chief care of the Austrian is to retain what he possesses, and every possible loss is calculated with a nicety unknown to the French.'

On many occasions, we believe, that a battle would have proved less destructive, and entailed fewer sacrifices by the abandonment of territory, than the retreat which was chosen as the alternative; and the constancy of the Austrian army under so many reverses of this description proves, in the fullest manner, the excellence of its composition, and its superiority under difficulties to that of the French. A very large proportion of its force is always employed in keeping up the chain of communications and other minor services, so that one portion of the troops which might, if near at hand, perform good service, cannot be brought into action, before that which it may be sent to succour is beaten or dispersed. The point of honour too which leads the Austrian officers to attach so much discredit to the loss of cannon is mischievous and absurd in the highest degree; for although the desertion of colours must certainly imply discomfiture and disgrace, it is not so with artillery, which ought only to be considered as one of the implements of war.

A state of hostilities has almost always proved disastrous to Austria, though her people are warlike in the extreme, and the love of arms and distinction the ruling passion amongst her nobility. This, generally speaking, has arisen from the same causes, and from similar defects in the conduct of her armies and the system of her government. Her trials in the course of the last twenty-five years have been greater by many degrees than she ever experienced before; and those who have attached credit to the assertions so frequently made by Buonaparte, that English gold alone for so long a period kept the nations of the continent at war, cannot be aware how little any subsidies from this country are able to compensate for the losses which Germany has suffered in her finances

finances and population during the late wars in which she was engaged.

A considerable portion of the disasters which have befallen the Austrian armies has been sometimes attributed to the Aulic Council, by which their operations are in a great measure directed; it is possible that some disadvantages have arisen from the check which this superintending body may have proved to the free and unrestrained exercise of military talent, but we are not inclined to impute to it a degree of blame beyond what it deserves.

This tribunal was originally confined in its jurisdiction to the hereditary domains of the Emperor; it formed a court which decided, without appeal, in all processes entered there; and though at first sight it appears extremely hazardous to allow of any control over armies actively engaged from such a quarter, the effects of an arrangement of this kind may not be so pernicious as might be apprehended. Many powers under every government are necessarily dormant; and it is not therefore safe to argue against the practice of any public body, because its constitution may be defective in theory.

Having concluded our remarks on the Archduke's first work, we must now advert to a second, which is of later date. To the military man both are valuable; but in the account of the campaign of 1799, as in the former publication, the great minuteness of local description, and the constant recurrence to the principles originally laid down, may perhaps fatigue the general reader. The causes which have produced such frequent reverses to the Austrian arms—the slowness of their movements—their defective commissariat—the disadvantages arising from a want of unity in command, and from the guidance of armies in the field by men in office at home—all the defects, in short, which we have already noticed in speaking of the first campaign, are acknowledged by the Archduke in their fullest extent; and his Imperial Highness seems more inclined to dwell upon the faults of the Austrians, and even upon such as may be attributed to his own military conduct, as illustrations of his own principles, than upon the success to which his countrymen may fairly lay claim.

After a very minute description of the whole seat of war, which is divided by the author into three regions, viz. the plain of Italy, the plain of Germany, and the mountainous country intervening, he proceeds to blame the two contending powers for supposing that the possession of the latter would ensure that of the plains.

‘Instead (says he) of maintaining a contest for the Tyrol, the Vorarlberg, and the Grisons, the first object of the French should have been to push for Vienna, that of their opponents to defend the line of the Danube; but France was at that time under the unsettled government

of



of the Directory, and although the peace lately concluded with Austria was not supposed to be lasting, she had not made the best use of the respite which it afforded.'

It is curious to observe to what rude shocks received opinions are subject in these days of new light and reform. By men of our un-military habits the occupation of the defiles, fortresses, and snug retreats of a mountainous region have always, we apprehend, been considered of the first importance; but here we are told, and that too by a great commander, that all the advantages attendant on mountain-warfare are on the side of the assailant; and are hence led to infer, that the only theatre of war upon which a General ought to perform is one where he may exhibit with effect his whole stock of strategical and tactical knowledge. To account for the prevalence of this error, (which it is one of the chief objects of the Archduke's work to correct,) we are told, that circumstances and the opinions of others give a bias and direction to the affairs in which most men are engaged, and that the majority of persons, especially in matters of importance, adapt their way of thinking to that of others. This, we doubt not, is very much the fact; but we must leave it to the military men of the age to decide, on an examination of his work, whether his Imperial Highness has made out his case against the Alps under their several denominations in the Tyrol and Grisons.

The French seem to have discovered by experience the insufficiency of their means to carry on the great designs they had projected at the outset; nor was a better order of things established until Massena became commander-in-chief, and considerable levies were ordered to reinforce his army. The Austrians, in the mean time, had overrun the Grison country, and were greatly superior to the enemy in numbers along the whole line of the mountainous region. The assistance they derived from the natives of this country appears to have been trifling, which affords another proof that the patriotism of the Swiss is greater in theory than practice—and that they fight with more spirit when in the pay of another country than gratuitously for their own.

Whilst the French armies in this quarter were placed under one head, the Archduke and Bellegarde were injudiciously kept independent of each other. In spite however of this disadvantage a severe attack was made on the French line in the neighbourhood of Zurich, in the beginning of June; and from that time, till the middle of August, both parties remained on the defensive in their several positions.

Omitting the operations on the Rhine, as comparatively of little moment, we shall now turn to the brilliant career of Suwaroff, in the plains of Italy—an insulated period of success during the long  
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series of reverses to which the Allies were exposed, in their early efforts to restrain the power of France.

It is not surprising that the value attached by the Archduke to set rules and principles in the conduct of military operations should lead him to under-rate the talents of a general who, like Suwaroff, despised all movements excepting those which led him in face of the enemy, and who from this had acquired the name of 'Field Marshal Forwards' from the Germans, who served under his orders. No two men, in truth, could be more dissimilar; and to judge by a comparison of the statements made by the biographer of the Russian commander and of those contained in the work before us, no two generals were ever less likely to act together with advantage. Let us see how the case stands.

Suwaroff had in Italy, under his orders, at the opening of the campaign, a force exceeding 90,000 men, and thus possessed a great numerical superiority over the French in that quarter.—Moreau, who had succeeded Scherer in the command of the army of Italy, was too weak alone to make head against the Allies; his object therefore was to effect a junction with Macdonald, who commanded in the south of Italy, and to the attainment of it, all his efforts were directed.

'Suwaroff,' says the Archduke, 'superior as he was in force and with every advantage on his side, ought to have driven Moreau out of Italy, whilst unsupported by Macdonald; but having no military science beyond that which he had gained in his campaigns against the Turks, no plan of operations except an instinct which taught him to seek out the enemy wherever he was to be found, his movements were conducted without the necessary calculation as to time and place—they shewed bodily energy, but not intellectual decision. Suwaroff's campaign was brilliant—Moreau's scientific; each fortunately had a part to play which suited his character. Suwaroff would have done nothing without a superior force—Moreau would have failed had success depended on the boldness and celerity of his manœuvres.'

To the opinion here given of Moreau's great talents as a military man we are fully inclined to subscribe; with those which relate to the abilities of his antagonist we do not so entirely concur. In the first place it should be observed, that the embarrassments created by the cabinet of Vienna to those in command on foreign service, (and of which the Archduke himself in some places so heavily complains,) ought fairly to be taken into the account in forming our judgment of the conduct of Suwaroff. The reduction of the chief fortresses in Italy was absurdly pressed from that quarter as a necessary measure; and the force which the Marshal had at his disposal, after the requisite deductions for this object, was dwindled down to 32,000 men. Weakened as he thus was, it

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was so far from being in his power, without considerable risk, to continue the pursuit of Moreau, that fears were entertained by the Austrian court lest he should be crushed by the junction of his enemies, who would, when united, be more than a match for him. He was not however blind to his danger, or regardless of the necessary precautions. 'Quand j'aurai étrillé Macdonald,' said he, 'je reviendrai étriller Moreau;' and accordingly after enticing the former into the plains of Lombardy, he fought him for three days on the Trebia, in a conflict of unusual obstinacy, and so completely discomfited his army, that nothing but a diversion in his favour by Moreau prevented its complete destruction.

Having thus disposed of Macdonald, this Northern Hannibal, as he was afterwards styled, turned upon Moreau, and compelled him to retire into the neighbourhood of Genoa; from which perilous situation he was only released by Suwaroff's recall from Italy, at a time when the French General had announced to the Senate his total inability to defend the place longer. Thus terminated this celebrated campaign. In five months this unscientific commander had gained as many great battles, and reduced all the fortified places in Lombardy and Piedmont.

The evacuation of Italy by the Allies at this conjuncture was most injudicious. It was prejudicial to the cause, not only in its immediate effects, as it called away troops from a quarter where they were gaining renown, but it also served most fatally to increase the jealousies which existed between the Allied Powers, and finally contributed to dis sever one of them from the coalition. Those who are inclined to impute to the Archduke the adoption of this step should read what he says on the subject, and they will probably then agree with us as to the quarter where blame ought justly to attach.

Suwaroff, who fortunately had no turn for diplomacy, was accustomed to excuse his disinclination to write by saying, 'that the pen sat ill in the hands of a soldier;' and as the Archduke professes to touch as little as possible on subjects purely political, such parts of his book are hardly fair subjects for criticism. We are sorry however to observe the common cry of the continent, in regard to the selfish policy of England, re-echoed from so high a quarter. The views of this country, according to the general creed of foreign politicians, are exclusively directed to the maintenance of her maritime superiority: and thus in enumerating the different causes which led the Allies to agree to the abandonment both of Italy and Switzerland at this crisis, a jealousy lest Russia should obtain a port in the Mediterranean is said to have actuated the councils of England; whilst the Russians were stimulated by the hopes of singly beating the French armies, and perhaps of advancing victo-  
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rious into France. The motives which led the Austrian cabinet to acquiesce in this arrangement were more obvious: it has been attributed to a desire on their part to appropriate to themselves certain of the King of Sardinia's territories; but at all events they were not sorry that such formidable allies as the Russians should be removed from their favourite possessions on the Italian soil.

From whatever combination of causes it proceeded, the measure itself was finally resolved upon, and orders were issued that the Austrian army should attempt a co-operation on the Lower Rhine with an expedition composed of English and Russians, to be landed at the Helder. The result of this enterprize is well known, and the danger which must accompany the attempt to land on an enemy's coast, without the necessary precaution in case of a reverse, appears to be so clear as to render the Archduke's observations on the subject almost superfluous.

The want of harmony between the Austrians and Russians, produced by this change in the object of their operations at this period of the campaign, had a very prejudicial effect. Previously to quitting his position in Switzerland, the Archduke resolved upon disturbing the French communication by an attack on Massena's left wing, which had been considerably weakened by the operations carried on upon the right, and in the mountains around St. Gothard. The dispositions for executing this project seem to have been well planned; but the whole failed, because, in consequence of an incorrect calculation, a sufficient number of pontoons could not be found to throw a bridge across the Aar. Time was thus lost—the French assembled in force, and a most discreditable picture is presented of the very defective state of the Austrian equipments for this branch of service. A long dissertation then follows on the art of throwing bridges over rivers. It is not every general who will be inclined to imitate Suwaroff, or much science on this subject would be completely thrown away.—At the battle of the Trebia he is said to have put himself at the head of a troop of Cossacks, and to have swum across the river, as a practical reproof to a corps of Austrian cavalry, who, although ordered to advance, were waiting for pontoons.

The Austrians have been highly censured for withdrawing so large a force as 60,000 men from Switzerland, before the arrival of Suwaroff, and for retarding his passage of St. Gothard, by withholding from his army the means of transport. As the key of the position, the Archduke distinctly pronounces that, in his opinion, Switzerland ought not to have been abandoned, and he even acknowledges that some share of blame may attach to himself, for not being sufficiently prompt in his support of the Russians against Massena's line. Under such circumstances, to communicate to  
Suwaroff

Suwaroff the change that had taken place, and to suggest to him the propriety of remaining on the defensive, must have proved a task which his Imperial Highness would willingly have avoided. The communication however was made, and the reply is too characteristic to be here omitted.

‘Dites à Monseigneur que je ne connois pas la défensive, je ne sais qu’attaquer. J’irai en avant, quand bon me semblera. Alors je ne m’arrêterai pas en Suisse ; je marcherai, selon mes ordres, directement en Franche Comté. Dites lui qu’à Vienne je serai à ses pieds ; mais qu’ici je suis au moins son égal ; il est Feld Maréchal ; je le suis aussi. Il est au service d’un grand Empereur, et moi aussi ; il est jeune, et moi je suis vieux. J’ai acquis de l’expérience à force de victoires et n’ai de conseils ni d’avis à recevoir de qui que ce soit ; je n’en prends que de Dieu, et de mon épée.’

Suwaroff, thus abandoned to his own resources, commenced that retreat which has been justly considered as one of the most extraordinary military attempts upon record, and of which Massena himself is reported to have said, ‘Je donnerois toutes mes campagnes pour celle de Suisse du Général Souworoff.’ The idea of conducting a large army over mountains which could with difficulty be crossed by small detachments, and that too in the month of October, is treated by the Archduke as an absurd and visionary project, though full credit is given to the Marshal for the promptitude of his decisions in all cases of difficulty. The numbers of the Russians about to embark on this dangerous service are stated by the Archduke not to have exceeded 18,000 infantry and 4000 Cossacks, with 25 field-pieces, which, from necessity, were sent round by the Tyrol ; and on this occasion we find a summary of his opinions on the composition of Russian armies, which although somewhat long and not very complimentary to his allies, we shall venture to transcribe.

‘The Russians had appeared on the theatre of war with the reputation of possessing the best qualities of a soldier, namely, distinguished bravery, and a discipline of which the value can only fairly be brought to the proof when he who commands them knows how to direct it. This bravery is founded upon physical strength, which decides little except in close conflict, a species of fighting which, since the introduction of weapons which take effect from a distance, and of movements which prevent its application, seldom occurs, even in the greatest battles, and only when both sides are equal in the skilfulness of their manœuvres.

‘Neither the Russian cavalry or infantry were accustomed to rapid movements. To arrive at perfect immovability was their aim ; a degree of steadiness which, although essential in the first formation of the soldier, is not required in the management of larger bodies, where the detail is less considered than the tactical arrangement of the whole.

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As little were the heavy gun carriages of the Russian ordnance at that time adapted to rapid manœuvres, and the smallness of the balls compared with the size of the cannon operated against their firing, either with accuracy or to a distance.

The chief safety of the army depends upon the Cossacks. Accustomed, by continual inroads, to watch every motion of the enemy, they become of little use in a country unfit for cavalry to act, and in defensive positions behind rivers the advantage is completely lost which may be derived from their desultory warfare.

To supply the necessities of a Russian army an enormous train follows it, which impedes all its movements; adapted in its establishment for carrying on war in the inhospitable plains of the Turkish frontier, the possibility of dispensing with many things, according to the new system of finding every where articles of first necessity, of making shift with little baggage, hardly ever enter into their thoughts. Since the year 1763 the only wars of consequence in which they were engaged had been with the Turks, in which determined courage, personal bravery, and the maintaining a close and compact order in the ranks, had commonly decided the day, without any skill in tactics being required. Hence their generals and officers have, for the most part, formed themselves exclusively on these principles, and have remained unacquainted with every other department of the military art. Elated by their last victories over the Turks, inspired by the French emigrants with contempt for the Frenchmen of the new school, and latterly for the Austrians also, who had failed in bringing to a close the war which appeared so easy, and easily convinced that the arrival of Souwaroff had alone decided the fate of arms in Italy—both they and their general were now completely blinded by their own presumption. It was not that noble self-confidence which raises the soul and excites it to deeds of greatness, but the sign of mental weakness and of a correspondent dejection in times of adversity. Korsakow thought himself sure of such a superiority of force, that his opponents must of necessity direct their movements by his, and that precaution was not more indispensable in Switzerland than in the steppes of the Dniester. As if in common the stationary body were enabled to guide the decisions of that more easily set in motion—and as if every particular adversary and every particular country did not require a peculiar application of the principles laid down for the conduct of warlike operations.

It was not until St. Gothard had been surmounted by the extraordinary perseverance of the Russian army, that Suwaroff became aware of the extent of the danger to which he was exposed. The corps under Korsakoff and Hotze, to which he looked for support in his progress through the mountains, had been successively defeated by Massena, and driven back into the Grisons, and on descending into the valley of the Reuss his soldiers, worn out with cold and fatigue, found new enemies to contend with in every direction. The Cossacks were compelled to dismount, as their beasts became useless, or, falling over precipices, were lost in the snow;

snow; and the horrors of this situation were powerfully increased by the absence of all intelligence of what was passing elsewhere. What an accumulation of peril is presented to us in the following passage! We select it, as it relates to a remarkable spot, though even in describing a scene of so much interest, the didactic style is not departed from, which pervades the whole work.

‘As Souwaroff then attempted to push forward into the Valley of the Reuss, he arrived at what is called the Urnerloch, a dark cavern, eighty yards long, through which it was necessary for his troops to de-file in order to reach the Devil’s Bridge by a steep declivity. This bridge connects by a single arch the rocks which run along the two sides of the valley, and over it the way leads to the left bank of the Reuss. The arch was sprung; and the French, posted on the opposite mountain, by a continued fire, rendered its repair impossible, and commanded not only the outlet but also the entrance of the Urnerloch. The first Russian battalion gallantly advanced to the cavern, and were completely swept away. The column followed, and as the shot of the enemy poured in thick upon them, all were hurried pell mell into this natural vault. The foremost were thrust forward by those in the rear, and thus became exposed to the murderous fire kept up from the other side, or fell over the rocks into the abyss beneath. At last it was resolved to turn the enemies’ flank by a circuitous route,—an attempt which seldom fails among mountains, as the adversary rarely has sufficient time or advantages of ground to guard himself against it. A ford above the bridge was accordingly tried by the Russians—they threw themselves breast high into the impetuous stream—gained the heights on the opposite side, and drove the French from their positions there. The Devil’s Bridge was repaired by trunks of trees and planks—and Souwaroff reached Wasen in the evening of that day.’

So much intrepidity and firmness deserved a better fate than the severe hardships which befel the Russian troops during the fifteen days in which they were left to scramble through the Swiss mountains. Suwaroff at last retired, with difficulty, to the east of the Lake of Constance; and, in the height of his indignation at what he termed the treachery of the Austrians, refused a conference with the Archduke, which was proposed at this time. The Emperor Paul shortly after withdrew his forces from the coalition, and Austria was thus left to cope single-handed with France. In the following year (1800) Buonaparte took the command of the Army of Reserve, and advanced into Italy; there the fate of the war was decided at Marengo, as it was in Germany by the battle of Hohenlinden.

We cannot bring our article to a close without a few words respecting that strange mortal, Suwaroff.—It is not surprising that his singularities, and his total contempt for all the forms and observances of war, should lower him in the estimation of a German tactician.



tactician. Being moreover aware of the disadvantages which attend the tedious mode of Austrian warfare, he was apt to express, with too little reserve, his opinions on this subject; and it is even upon record, that he declined communicating some of his plans to the Emperor of Austria when asked so to do, alleging as a reason for this refusal, the want of secrecy which attended all the deliberations of the cabinet at Vienna, on matters connected with the war department.

A Russian army is, perhaps, more easily managed than any other; but no general, even of that nation, ever had a stronger hold over the affections of his troops than Suwaroff enjoyed in the midst of all his extravagancies. Though severe in his discipline, and apparently careless of the lives of his men, what he imposed upon others he submitted to himself, and whatever hardships his army suffered, he shared in common with the meanest soldier. His frequent visits to the tents of his people remind us of what is related of our Henry the Fifth—he was fond of conversing with them, of listening to their talk, and of tasting their soup and brandy, to be satisfied of its quality. Though much was assumed, a love of singularity pervaded his whole character; witness the strange exhibitions which have often been repeated of him, and his frequent addresses to his soldiers on parade. However burlesque his behaviour and uncouth his appearance, it was not ridicule or contempt that his conduct excited; and like the Hero of Cervantes, he always claims our respect even in the midst of his most ludicrous distresses. To accustom his troops to their duties in action his manœuvres were brought as near as possible to actual combat, and they even were sometimes carried on at night.

Though fully alive to all his defects, we should say, that justice has not been done either to the military or moral qualities of this extraordinary character. In loyalty to his sovereign no man ever surpassed him: few have been so careless of the world's goods, and so perfectly free from all selfish considerations. His movements, though conducted with singular rapidity, were not without calculation, as the enemies of his fame have so often asserted; and that quickness of decision for which he was distinguished, of itself led very frequently to the constant success which marked his career. His confidence in himself sprung from his ignorance of defeat; and had he possessed no other qualities of a great general than the addition of Felix to his name, we are inclined to consider that, of all the continental leaders who have appeared during these latter years, he was the most fitted to cope with Buonaparte in the field.

ART. V.—1. *Brutus, or the Fall of Tarquin, an Historical Tragedy.* By John Howard Payne.

2. *Evadne, or the Statue. A Tragedy, in Five Acts.* By Richard Shiel, Esq.

THE influence of the drama on the manners of a nation and its habits of thinking, few will question, who have considered the subject with the attention which it deserves. It is idle to calculate the extent of that influence by the number of specific characters formed, or actions done in direct imitation of dramatic personages; such are, rather, instances of mania, rarely to be found, and arising from a coincidence of irritable temperament with very favouring circumstances; in ordinary cases, the glowing enthusiasm, which the representation kindles within us, may indeed affect our dreams, but is cooled by the realities of the morrow. The moral influence, however, does not perish with it—it goes to strengthen the mass of opinions and feelings previously engendered by similar representations; that, which each individual may have entertained at first but coldly, numbers by communication feel warmly; and spread to greater numbers, who have no immediate connection with the first cause of the emotion. It would be too much to say that the drama has formed the national character; that undoubtedly is the result of many other, and more important circumstances: but we have no doubt, that the two act powerfully on each other; the national character is impressed strongly on the drama, while our drama is not the least potent of many agents to form and to cherish the peculiarities of our national character.

Entertaining these opinions, we watch with peculiar interest the progress of dramatic poetry, and the state of dramatic taste amongst our countrymen. We confess that we have no reason to congratulate them on either. We do not remember a single good tragedy of modern date; Mr. Coleridge's *Remorse* and Mr. Milman's *Fazio*, indeed, considered merely as proofs of poetic talent, are distinguished performances, though we think them, for reasons already given, very imperfect as plays. But if the productions themselves are not honourable to their authors, their fate seems to us to be decided in a way still less creditable to their judges. Chance, caprice, party, any thing but true principles appears to direct the judgment of a first audience, a judgment which, when unfavourable, with peculiar, and unreasonable hardship, is both summary and without appeal. It might be interesting to inquire into the causes of these things in an age certainly neither deficient generally in talent nor cultivation, as well as how far they act on each other; but the limits allowed to us on the present occasion forbid us from travelling so far from the immediate subjects under review.

Brutus

Brutus and Evadne are, or have been, both favourites with the public; and though after what we have just said we shall not be expected to submit our own opinion to that judgment, yet we owe it so much of deference at least, as not to differ from it essentially, without assigning our reasons. Neither of the plays professes to be wholly original; Mr. Shiel informs us that he has borrowed part of his plot from the *Traitor of Shirley*; Mr. Payne, with a generality that defeats all the proper purposes of the statement, tells us, that 'he has had no hesitation in adopting the conceptions and language of his predecessors, wherever they seemed likely to strengthen the plan which he had prescribed to himself.' We have no right to dictate to authors; they may, like Mr. Payne, adopt whole scenes from their predecessors; we certainly have a right to a little more honesty and explicitness in their acknowledgments; and while we agree with him that 'no assistance can be available without an effort almost if not altogether as laborious as original composition,' we would yet observe that the labour of adaptation is different in kind from that of composition, and entitled to a different degree of praise.

One of the predecessors to whom Mr. Payne is under great and unacknowledged obligations, Nathaniel Lee, in the dedication of his *Brutus*, speaks thus: 'There are some subjects that require but half the strength of a great poet: but when Greece or old Rome come in play, the nature, wit, and vigour of foremost Shakspeare, the judgment and force of Jonson, with all his borrowed mastery from the ancients, will scarce suffice for so terrible a grapple.' That there is a difficulty in rendering interesting to an English audience subjects taken from the Greek or Roman history, the experience of all our dramatists who have attempted them, sufficiently demonstrates—even Shakspeare's *Brutus*, says Lee, with much ado beat himself into the heads of a blockish age,' 'and Jonson's *Catiline* met no better fate.' It is not, however, we conceive, in any excessive loftiness of the subjects, or peculiar 'blockishness' of the audience that this difficulty consists; for after all, the loftiness of a subject in reference to the reader or spectator depends mainly on the author who treats it.—Shakspeare is certainly not less raised above his audience in *Macbeth* or *Hamlet*, than in *Coriolanus*, or *Julius Cæsar*, and they who have been delighted with the two former, may be well supposed, so far as intelligence is concerned, to be capable of receiving pleasure from the two latter. The truth seems to be that the subjects which have been most commonly selected from classic history have in themselves two defects, which render them impracticable in almost any hands for the English stage; they are too familiar to us in all their details as historical facts, and they are chiefly of a political nature. The interest of the

drama must in the main be personal, though it may borrow indirect aid from the national feelings of the audience; it is unfortunate, therefore, that the Roman history has been more resorted to for subjects, than the far more romantic annals of Greece: for of all histories, the Roman is that in which personal character and individual interest are the most swallowed up by what is public and political.

The judgment of Shakspeare, in this respect, is altogether astonishing—of his three great Roman plays, two, *Coriolanus* and *Mark Antony*, are rare instances of direct violation or forgetfulness of that national spirit which we have been describing; the interest in them is almost wholly personal; and, in the third, (*Julius Cæsar*) he has dexterously contrived to rivet our attention rather on the qualities, the friendships, the quarrels, and the misfortunes of individuals, than on the public cause for which they are contending. In his English historic plays this is still more remarkable; he has indeed appealed to our feelings as Englishmen, in the wars of France and England, but when the scene is laid at home, he makes the interest entirely personal; it is not on public revolutions, a discontented people, or rival factions, that he suffers us to dwell, these are lost in such characters as the tragic and moralizing Richard, the impetuous Hotspur, the chivalrous Harry, shaking off his profligate companions, the ambitious and diabolical Gloucester, the stern and sublime Wolsey.

It is not easy to say how Shakspeare would have obviated the difficulties of *Brutus*, if he had chosen such a subject; for in spite of the opinion of Voltaire, who calls it 'the subject, perhaps, of all others, the most fitted for the English stage,' it certainly seems to us objectionable in an eminent degree, and for many reasons. The fall of Tarquin, and the conspiracy to restore him, are events which, whether true or not, we know familiarly as historic facts—any alteration or addition is a palpable contradiction of our received faith; at the same time the facts themselves are too meagre and too strictly political to suffice for the interest of a regular tragedy. Accordingly, the naked history has been departed from, more or less, by all who have written on the subject,—love has been universally one grand ingredient for filling up what Voltaire calls '*le vide de la tragédie*,' and he has professedly made it '*le nœud nécessaire de la pièce*.' Lee has introduced a '*Teraminta*,' natural daughter of Tarquin, and Mr. Payne has his *Tarquinia*. This alone makes a material change in the character of the conspiracy; but Mr. Payne has wandered still farther from the history; he has given Tarquin a faithful army, and strong camp at Ardea, sunk all mention of his intriguing ambassadors, bestowed on Brutus but a single son, and though he has made that son perish for an attempt to fly with *Tarquinia* to her father, yet we are by no means assured

assured from any thing that appears in the play, that there was any regular conspiracy for the restoration of the monarch; or if there was, that the unhappy Titus was ever acquainted with it. This last refinement is a striking proof of deficiency of judgment: it was necessary that Titus should be an object of interest, Lee and Voltaire have therefore made him an unwilling and repentant partner in the treason; but it was necessary also that his death should be strictly equitable for the justification of Brutus, they have therefore made him consenting to the treacherous design of opening the gates which he was intrusted to guard. Mr. Payne had no way of making us feel for him but by so diminishing his guilt, that we become dissatisfied with what seems a mere strained and severe punctilio in Brutus.

These, however, are faults of conception; let us see whether Mr. Payne has been more fortunate in the execution of his plot. He has commenced at so early a period of the story, that it was necessary for him to represent the simulated madness of Brutus, and he attempts an imitation of the shrewd and biting simplicity of the clowns and fools in the older drama. This, in any case, must have been a difficult character to write; it demanded the most original humour; but the difficulty is doubled when the folly was to be assumed only for a time by one who was soon to throw it from him indignantly, and become the hero of the piece. In all this, Mr. Payne has wholly failed; his Brutus is neither a madman, a fool, a wit, nor what he ought to have been, a compound of all three. With none of the wildness of the first, the simpleness of the second, or the mercurial lightness of the third, he is in a perpetual and unsuccessful attempt to say bitter things covertly; and with all the aid of an unmeaning stare, and monotonous voice, the only wonder in the minds of the audience must have been that so bad an actor was allowed to play his part undiscovered so long.

But if the mad Brutus is a complete failure, the sober Brutus is not less so—and the failure is the more unpardonable, because the difficulties are not so great. It required a particular vein in the author to conceive and write well the former part of the character, which a man might have been without, and yet have given an adequate representation of the latter. But he who fails in this latter, should renounce the wooing of the tragic muse *maturè sanus*; for Brutus sober, is by no means a difficult character or one out of the common walks of tragedy. From the moment that he lays aside his masque of folly, he becomes pre-eminently simple and single minded; he has no conflicting passions in his heart, or double purposes in his conduct, and he is exhibited not under a variety of trials, but exposed to one only, and under circumstances, which

though they aggravate the severity of the test, yet leave no room for uncertainty, or wavering conduct.

With none of those difficulties in which Mr. Payne might have failed without disgrace, Brutus is yet in many respects a highly tragic character, and in many places might have given scope to the most solemn strains of moral declamation, or the finest bursts of eloquent and pathetic poetry; so that without writing a good tragedy, the author might have been in some measure redeemed, by shewing himself a true poet. What, for example, can be conceived more likely to express itself in striking soliloquy than the indignation of Brutus, after having submitted in his feigned character to the gibes and insults of the wanton sons and courtiers of Tarquin? What more favourable for reflections of mournful and anxious love than his situation when Titus considering him deranged has refused to renounce Tarquinia at his command? Where shall we look for such a theme of glowing and heart-stirring eloquence, as the dead body of Lucretia, the bleeding dagger, the childless father, and widowed husband? What, lastly, can be more fine than the situation of Brutus with those appealing witnesses before him, and his astonished countrymen around him; if we consider, on the one hand, their minds in the very mood on which eloquence operates most powerfully, on the other, the orator urging them to vengeance and liberty, *castigator lacrymarum atque inertium querelarum, auctorque quod viros quod Romanos deceret, arma capienda adversus hostilia ausos*; his soul, in the very circumstances and under the excitements most favourable for the impulses of an eloquent spirit, delighted to have cast off the loathsome clothing of madness and folly, glorying in the reassertion of its native powers, full of its great subject, and grasping the reality and fruition of dreams and hopes which for years had been the only solace of ignominy and oppression?

But if the character of Brutus affords full scope for all a poet's powers, the situations appeal very forcibly to the feelings. We do not know any thing more distressing than the agonies of a strong and severe man: the sorrows of softer natures we are accustomed to; we hear their sighs and see their tears come and go, sometimes upon occasions that scarcely seem to warrant their excess, and often without leaving any traces behind them; but there is something to make us shudder in the grief that convulses a manly bosom; we can hardly fancy that the scalding tear is suffered to start, or the deep groan to come up till the heart within is broken. In the whole of Scripture, full as it is of moving incidents, there is scarcely any thing more affecting than the exclamation of the king of Israel, 'O Absalom, my son, my son, would God I had died for thee, my son!'—but the situation of Brutus is even yet more bitter, for in his case

case the rebellious and traitorous son is an unaffected penitent, and yet must die by his father's own hand.

Such is the dramatic character of *Brutus*, and we may spare ourselves the trouble of pursuing our analysis through all the minor characters of the play.—*Brutus* is in fact, and seems to have been intended to be, the only efficient personage. We should, in any case, be sorry to speak with unnecessary severity; and if *Brutus* were likely to be the last production of its author, we should gladly have let it sink unobserved into the oblivious tomb which is gaping for it; but the applause with which it has been received on the stage, may prompt Mr. Payne to another effort, and we are therefore bound to express our opinion promptly and decidedly.—We declare, then, that he appears to us to have no one quality which we should require in a tragic poet; he has neither comprehended nor arranged his subject properly, he has not surmounted its difficulties, nor profited by its advantages:—we will not dwell upon his faults, the foolish and presumptuous imitation of one of the most beautiful speeches in *Shakspeare*, the absurd nummeries, and pantomimic tricks, too long tolerated with patience by an audience, which might have commanded for their delight and instruction, the noblest productions of human nature,—it is enough to say conscientiously, that we cannot find in the whole play, a single character finely conceived, or rightly sustained, a single incident well managed, a single speech, nay, a single sentence of good poetry.

We turn with great, though not unmixed satisfaction, to *Evadne*; for if we compare it to the *Traitor of Shirley*, from which the plot is taken, we think it falls as much below in the balance, as it rises above the miserable attempt which has been just dismissed. But, whatever faults there may be, we are bound to thank Mr. Shiel for much pleasure; the action of his play is sufficiently busy, and the scenes are richly set with passages of elegant as well as vigorous poetry. The works of *Shirley* ought to be so well known, that no account of the plot of a play borrowed from them should be necessary; the lightness and humour of his comedies, with the gentlemanly feeling that pervades the characters in them; and the poetry, the honest sentiment, the beautiful conception of female innocence and dignity, and the romantic interest, which are to be found in his tragedies, ought to have secured their author as much fame and general acceptance in the present day, as they brought him popularity in his own. We fear, however, that this is not the case; it may not therefore, so far as the *Traitor* is concerned, be superfluous to give some account of the story of *Evadne*, and to make a few comparisons between the two.

The scene lies at Naples.—The king, a young man of good dispositions, but corrupted by pleasure, is represented under the influence



fluence of a treacherous courtier, Ludovico, who has excited in him an unlawful passion for Evadne, that in his attempt to gratify it, he may fall a victim to the insulted honour of Colonna, a lofty minded Neapolitan, her brother. Ludovico has designs on the throne, and has prepared a party to assist him at any favourable opportunity; but this is not his only object; Colonna is his political enemy, has opposed his ambitious views, and openly accused him to the king; Evadne has repulsed his love, and preferred Vicentio to him; revenge therefore, and mortified pride, and a still cherished hope of gratifying his passion after the removal of the king, Colonna and Vicentio, are concurring motives for his conduct. Vicentio, to whom Evadne is betrothed, to further the king's designs had been sent in honourable banishment on an embassy to Florence. Ludovico recalls him, and by artful insinuations, and arranged circumstances, succeeds in convincing him that she is the king's mistress, and that he is to be rewarded by court honours, for a tame submission to the king's pleasures. Stung to the quick by this imagined discovery, Vicentio hastens to Evadne, bitterly and cruelly reproaches her, and renounces his engagement; Colonna, of course, revenges her desertion, and in a duel Vicentio falls, supposed to be mortally wounded. This puts the slayer into the hands of his enemy; he is arrested by the officers of justice, and Ludovico enters, not however to insult over his distress, but with apparent nobleness to set him free. He informs Colonna that he has obtained his pardon, but that the king insists upon his yielding up Evadne to him, as the price of his life. Colonna takes fire at the proposal, and when Ludovico has worked him up to the proper point, he with an appearance of frankness confesses himself a conspirator against the king's life, and asks him if—

‘ ‘tis a sin

To think a dagger were of use in Naples’

Colonna catches at the suggestion, and making a shew of grateful submission invites the king to his palace to feast and sleep, intending there to murder him.

The king falls into the snare; the feast is over, and he retires to his couch; meanwhile Colonna grows every moment more reluctant to the task, which in his passion he had undertaken to execute, and he declares to Ludovico that he will call the king out, and kill him honourably; Ludovico observes that he may fall in the contest, and asks what will then become of Evadne. Stimulated by this question, he renews his design, but in the moment of advancing to execute it, Evadne herself crosses him, urges him not to proceed, and finally prevails upon him to call the king and leave him alone with her. This is done, and they meet in a hall adorned with the statues of her ancestors. The king naturally mistakes the purpose of

of the meeting, but she parries his addresses for some time, and in a tone of mixed playfulness and solemnity leads him round the hall, describes the different statues as she passes; and at length, before that of her father, who had been his tutor, and saved his life in battle at the expense of his own, she stops, and in animated language unfolds all his virtues and the king's especial obligations to him. Rushing then to the statue, and clasping it passionately in her arms, she calls to the astonished monarch, and bids him, if he persists in his unholy purposes, to take her pure and spotless from that place, and reward the father by the shame and ruin of the daughter. This appeal effectually moves him, and he renounces his passion; Colonna, who had been a concealed witness, reappears in raptures, and discloses his own design, and Ludovico's treachery; to convince the doubting king, he places him behind the statues, and calls to the villain, who enters, and in the full belief of the murder being accomplished, exults over the dead, and with still more infernal joy over the living—the duped Colonna. To his confusion the king himself advances: for a moment he tries his old arts of dissembling; but finding them vain, rushes furiously forward to stab him, and receives his own death instead from the hand of Colonna.

This is certainly a story of deep and diversified interest; the labour of the author has not been confined, nor is the attention of the reader wholly riveted to any one character; that is a great thing to say in favour of a modern play. It is impossible, however, for us to forget that both the story and the characters are borrowed; if upon comparison of them with the original, we could say that Mr. Shiel had improved upon it, still we must in justice have subtracted much of the praise to which he would otherwise have been entitled. But this is not the case: Mr. Shiel's story is meagre, and his characters tame and uniform when compared to Shirley's. In the Traitor, indeed, that author has set thick his incidents and personages with the prodigality of Shakspeare, and he has conceived his characters with a vigour and truth not much inferior. Sciarrha, the Colonna of the Traitor, has a younger brother, Florio, whose tenderer age and softer character, sustained however by a gallant spirit, stand well between the sternness of the elder brother, and the delicacy of the sister. Two short passages will give our readers a better idea of him, than any description; in the early part of the play, Sciarrha makes a shew of persuading his sister to go to court and yield to the duke's solicitations: it is beautiful to see how, in repelling with proper indignation such proposals, she leans with entire confidence on the purity and affection of Florio, and the spirit with which he meets her confidence. Sciarrha affects anger at her language, and threatens

to

to strike her, but Florio exclaims, forgetful of all disparities of age and skill and strength—

‘Offer to touch her  
With any rudeness, and by all that’s virtuous—

Sci. Why how now, boy?

Flo. I do not fear thy sword—*[draws.]*  
This with my youth and innocence is more  
Defence than all thy armory—what devil  
Has crept into thy soul?’

The other passage speaks volumes as to the habits and intimacy of this delightful pair; it is exactly what might have happened between such a brother and such a sister, and it is a most natural and pathetic recollection at the moment at which it is made. Florio is employed to place the dead Amidea on a bed, dressed as if to receive the duke. As he leaves her, he says—

‘Let me look upon  
My sister now—still she retains her beauty.  
Death has been kind to leave her all this sweetness.  
*Thus in a morning have I oft saluted  
My sister in her chamber, safe upon  
Her bed and talk’d of many harmless passages.’*

We cannot afford room to notice other characters, whom Mr. Shiel has dropped from his canvass, but we must not pass over one, the inimitable Depazzi, a miserable creature, and tool of Lorenzo, whose fears of the discovery and punishment of the treason to which he has consented haunt him in a manner truly comic. If we are not mistaken it adds too to the completeness of Lorenzo’s character, to shew him thus turning to account the weakness and timidity of Depazzi with the same ease with which he blinds the discretion, and moulds to his purposes the intellect and valour, or the honour and pride of the higher personages of the play.

The inferiority of Mr. Shiel is however more conspicuous in what he has done, than in what he has left undone. Colonna is perhaps more severe and dignified than Sciarrha, but he is less truly and less vigorously drawn; in truth, he is too severe and too dignified for the part he is made to act; he seems rather like a Roman Patrician, than an Italian noble; Sciarrha has all the fire and impetuosity, the passion, the dubious principle, even the bold coarseness of his country. Evadne will bear a somewhat better comparison with Amidea; the original is very beautiful, but the copy is not without its charms; she is introduced to us gazing on Vicentio’s picture, and pained at the delay of his appearance; he enters full fraught with the insinuations of Ludovico and resolved to upbraid and reject her for ever. His manner strikes her as cold, and embarrassed, and she says,—‘you look altered:’ he answers in  
lines

lines which are very beautiful in themselves; they give an animated and a noble description of a lovely woman, but they have a peculiar and pathetic force spoken at such a time and under feelings so painful.

‘ But you do not look altered—would you did—  
 Let me peruse the face where loveliness  
 Stays, like the light after the sun is set.  
 Spher’d in the stillness of those heaven-blue eyes  
 The soul sits beautiful; the high white front,  
 Smooth as the brow of Pallas, seems a temple  
 Sacred to holy thinking—and those lips  
 Wear the small smile of sleeping infancy,  
 They are so innocent.—Ah, thou art still  
 The same soft creature, in whose lovely form  
 Virtue and beauty seemed as if they tried  
 Which should exceed the other. Thou hast got  
 That brightness all around thee, that appear’d  
 An emanation of the soul, that loved  
 To adorn its habitation with itself,  
 And in thy body was like light, that looks  
 More beautiful in the reflecting cloud  
 It lives in, in the evening.—Oh Evadne,  
 Thou art not altered—would thou wert!’—p. 26.

In a subsequent scene Vicentio treats her with great affected scorn, and informs her that he is about to marry Olivia; at this she breaks out into no anger, and utters no reproaches, but answers in lines, which have a tranquillity and affection in them, a sweet and solemn evenness in their flow, which is more moving than the most passionate exclamation of grief—

‘ May you be happy with that happier maid,  
 That never could have loved you more than I do,  
 But may deserve you better. May your days,  
 Like a long stormless summer, glide away,  
 And peace and trust be with you! May you be  
 The after patterns of felicity,  
 That lovers, when they wed, may only wish  
 To be as blest as you were—loveliness  
 Dwell round about you like an atmosphere  
 Of our soft southern air, where every flower  
 In Hymen’s yellow wreath may bloom and blow.  
 Let nature with the strong domestic bond  
 Of parent tenderness unite your hearts  
 In holier harmony—and when you see,  
 What you both love, more ardently adore!  
 And when at last you close your gentle lives,  
 Blameless as they were blessed, may you fall

Into

Into the grave as softly as the leaves  
Of two sweet roses on an autumn eve,  
Beneath the small sighs of the western wind  
Drop to the earth together.—p. 42, 43.

Pressed as we are for space, we must yet find room for that part of the old play, on which these beautiful lines are founded: it will not suffer from being brought into contact with the muse of Mr. Shiel, even in his happiest moments.

Amidea, aware of her brother's resolution to revenge her injuries, meets Pisano on his way to the altar with Oriana, whom he had forced from her lover Cosmo, by practising on the avarice and ambition of her relations. The dialogue follows.

*Enter AMIDEA hastily.*

*Ami.* Not for my sake, but for your own, go back,  
Or take some other way; this leads to death;  
My brother—

*Pis.* What of him?

*Ami.* Transported with

The fury of revenge for my dishonour,  
As he conceives, (for 'tis against my will,)  
Hath vow'd to kill you in your nuptial glory.  
Alas! I fear his haste; now, good my lord,  
Have mercy on yourself; I do not beg  
Your pity upon me, I know too well  
You cannot love me now, nor would I rob  
This virgin of your faith, since you have pleas'd  
To throw me from your love:—but once again  
I would beseech you, cherish your own life,  
Though I be lost for ever.

*Alon.* It is worth

Your care, my lord, if there be any danger.

*Pis.* Alas! her grief hath made her wild, poor lady.  
I should not love Oriana to go back;  
Set forward.—Amidea, you may live  
To be a happier bride: Sciarrha is not  
So irreligious to profane these rites.

*Ami.* Will you not then believe me?—Pray persuade him,  
You are his friends.—Lady, it will concern  
You most of all, indeed; I fear you'll weep  
To see him dead as well I.

*Pis.* No more;  
Go forward.

*Ami.* I have done; pray be not angry,  
That still I wish you well: may heaven divert  
All harms that threaten you;  
Indeed I cannot choose but pray for you.  
This might have been my wedding day—

*Ori.*

- Ori.* Good heaven,  
I would it were ! my heart can tell, I take  
No joy in being his bride, none in your prayers ;  
I will resign my place, and wait on you,  
If you will marry him.
- Ami.* Pray do not mock me,  
But if you do, I can forgive you too.
- Ori.* Dear Amidea, do not think I mock  
Your sorrow ; by these tears, which are not worn  
By every virgin on her wedding-day,  
I am compelled to give away myself :  
Your hearts were promis'd, but he ne'er had mine.  
Am not I wretched too ?
- Ami.* Alas, poor maid !  
We two keep sorrow alive then ; but I prithee,  
When thou art married, love him, prithee love him,  
For he esteems thee well ; and once a day  
Give him a kiss for me ; but do not tell him,  
'Twas my desire : perhaps 'twill fetch a sigh  
From him, and I had rather break my heart.  
But one word more, and heaven be with you all.—  
Since you have led the way, I hope, my lord,  
That I am free to marry too ?
- Pis.* Thou art.
- Ami.* Let me beseech you then, to be so kind,  
After your own solemnities are done,  
To grace my wedding ; I shall be married shortly.
- Pis.* To whom ?
- Ami.* To one whom you have all heard talk of ;  
Your fathers knew him well : one, who will never  
Give cause I should suspect him to forsake me ;  
A constant lover, one whose lips, though cold,  
Distil chaste kisses : though our bridal bed  
Be not adorn'd with roses, 'twill be green ;  
We shall have virgin laurel, cypress, yew,  
To make us garlands ; though no pine do burn,  
Our nuptials shall have torches, and our chamber  
Shall be cut out of marble, where we'll sleep,  
Free from all care for ever : Death, my lord,  
I hope shall be my husband. Now, farewell ;  
Although no kiss, accept my parting tear,  
And give me leave to wear my willow here.\*

We must now return to Evadne. In the last scene the character rises upon us with the occasion to a more commanding dignity. If Evadne however will bear a comparison with Amidea, it is not so with Ludovico and Lorenzo—Ludovico is tame and imperfect to the consummate Lorenzo. His plots are more clumsy and less various, (indeed they make us wonder at the ease with which the  
other

other personages are duped by them,) his penetration is less acute, and his caution less watchful—he appears, though not upon a level with his fellow conspirators as to shrewdness, yet as one of the same men, differing in degree rather than in kind. Lorenzo stands aloof, a lordly, a superior villain. Ludovico is perpetually analysing, as it were, his own wickedness, babbling of his plots to others, and vainly courting their applause for his superior ingenuity; Lorenzo is his own confidant, working incessantly to the accomplishment of his plots, and delighting in his own subtleties, but not disclosing them to his agents, who are privy only to just so much of the plan as they must themselves be ministers to. Therefore it is that he can use all persons of whatever capacity for his purposes, the lordly Sciarrha, the fickle Pisano, the wily Petruccio, or the ‘property’ Depazzi. He urges Sciarrha to the murder of the duke, and when upon the repentance of this latter, the same trap is laid for the disclosure of his treachery, as that into which Ludovico falls, he extricates himself from it with a quickness and duplicity, which do not indeed shock us as incredible, but make us almost think, with Sciarrha, that he is a devil incarnate. But his greatest triumph is the delusion of Sciarrha even after all this; the moulding him once more to his purpose, the stirring up again the guilty passion in the duke’s breast, and the piecing of the threads of mischief that had been so violently and unexpectedly broken.

We had noted some passages as instances of mannerism and errors in language; Mr. Shiel’s mistakes in this respect seem to proceed from a too determined imitation of the style of our elder dramatists; their style certainly is the best, and we therefore wish that our modern play-writers could attain it. But this cannot be done by direct and deliberate imitation; the striking features indeed may thus be caricatured, but the spirit, the manner, the general flow and tone must become our own by long study of the models, and by growing at last even to think in the same train and with the same associations as they did. To write well, our expressions must flow naturally, both the thoughts and their clothing must be our own; if we are obliged to change our own language, that which first presents itself, into that of another person, the result is in fact a translation, and not an original composition. There is another and even more important rule which Mr. Shiel appears to have equally forgotten, though it is self-evident—every sentence should at least contain a definite idea, and the writer should be sure that he knows what it is. But in a number of expressions which we have noticed, the meaning is either perfectly uncertain, or different from what the context requires.

When we have made these, and all other deductions, however, from the merits of the play, much will still remain to be admired.

Mr.



Mr. Shiel will not be offended when we say he has fallen greatly below the neglected original, from whom he has borrowed not merely his story, but *his principal characters*, (we make the latter part of this assertion in the face of a disclaimer in his preface;) but if forgetting what he has done, and estimating at its proper value the applause of a giddy audience under the influence of scenery, music, and powerful acting, he will remember that poetry is an art, like other arts, in which the gifts of nature are to be improved by discipline, study, and practice; that his own line demands a peculiar acquaintance with the workings of nature, and an earnest pursuit of the laws and felicities of language; and if therefore he will bestow more labour both on the conception of his characters, the arrangement of his plot, and the clearness and natural flow of his diction, we think we may safely promise him a higher rank than he has yet attained.

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ART. VI.—*Sur l'Élévation des Montagnes de l'Inde, par Alexandre de Humboldt.*—Paris.

THERE is, perhaps, no man living who has made, in his own person, and collected from others, so many facts and observations connected with the various atmospherical phenomena as the Baron de Humboldt. His essay on 'Isothermal lines and the distribution of heat over the globe,\*' was an able and elaborate production. Fond as he sometimes is of generalizing from a small number of insulated facts, he proceeded in that with all the caution which the delicacy and difficulty of the subject required. In the Memoir before us, more confined in its object, but still closely connected with the former, we cannot say that he appears in quite so advantageous a light. He had, in truth, fewer data to proceed upon; and indeed the only motive which could have induced him to write at all on a subject, of which the little that was known had already appeared in the Asiatic Researches, must have been a desire of extending the information contained in that work, for the edification of the Parisian philosophers; and his conclusions, as might be expected from the want of facts, are now discovered, by actual experiment, to be exceedingly erroneous.

We attach no censure to the arguments employed by M. de Humboldt on this occasion; they are grounded on principles the soundness of which, in Europe and America, he had himself experimentally proved. In the one country, he had the advantage of comparing his own observations with those of Saussure, Deluc,

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\* In the '*Mémoires de Physique et de Chimie de la Société d'Arcueil.*'—Tom. iii. Paris. 1817.

Ramond, and other men of science and research; in the other, he was not only in the possession of the observations made by Condamine, Ulloa and Bruguer, but, as he tells us, had had an opportunity 'of profiting by the advantages which the lofty plateaus of the New Continent offered, to examine the temperature of the strata of superincumbent air,—not from mere insulated facts, the fruits of a few excursions towards the summit of a volcano, but from a collection of a great number of observations made from day to day, and from month to month.' Here then he might theorize with confidence: but he had no such advantages with regard to the elevated regions of central Asia: the few data collected by Messrs. Crawford, Colebrooke and Webb, even supposing them to be accurate, (of which some doubt was entertained,) related only to the altitude of a certain number of the peaks of mountains which, M. de Humboldt admits, are not to be taken as the measure of the magnitude of mountain ranges. In the absence, therefore, of well ascertained facts, he applies to the mountains and elevated plains of this unexplored and unknown part of the Eastern world, (and he could not well do otherwise,) the data with which Europe and America had supplied him. These, however, as we shall presently shew, are utterly at variance with experiments recently made in the midst of the chain of the Himalaya and the extensive table-land of Tartary. The barometrical observations, which we have just received in a valuable manuscript communication from Captain Webb, will, we are sure, convince M. de Humboldt, as they have convinced us, that his theory of isothermal lines will require a very considerable modification when applied to the continent of Asia: and we are led to hope that Professor Leslie will likewise perceive, that the ingenious system,\* on which he has constructed his 'curved line of the lower point of perpetual congelation,' is wholly inapplicable to these elevated regions; though it might be found sufficiently accurate for most of the parallels of latitude in all parts of the globe, provided the earth had been covered with water, or its surface one vast plain.

The name of Captain Webb is not unknown to our readers. After receiving an excellent education in the mathematical school of Christ's Hospital, he procured a commission in the military service of the East India Company; where his superior abilities in practical mathematics soon brought him into notice, and, after the experience of a few years, acquired for him the appointment of surveyor of Kumaon. Previously to this, he had been the principal observer in all the expeditions to discover the sources of the several branches of the Ganges; and had ascertained, by every means that good instruments and trigonometrical observations could afford, the height

\* In the 'Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica,' vol. iii. Article 'Climate.'

of no less than twenty-seven peaks of the Himalaya range. In his new situation of surveyor of Kumaon his attempts to pass the Himalaya mountains have been incessant. In 1816 he advanced to the Tartar station of Tuklakot, and through the pass of Lebong, in the hope of obtaining permission to visit the sacred lake of Manasarowar between which and the place where he then was, there interfered only the Kailas mountain, or rather that end of it which connects it with the Himalaya. The Tartar chief who opposed his passage was exceedingly civil, but said that his orders were positive; that in future none would be allowed to cross that mountain from the southward side of India; and that the Deba or governor of Ghertop had been removed from his government and ordered to Lassa, for having permitted two Englishmen to visit the lake: these, it appears, were Captain Hearsay and Mr. Moorcroft. The altitude must have been very considerable, as the snow lay deep on the ground in the pass of Lebong, at the end of May; and at a much lower elevation, in the end of September, Captain Webb was shut up for seven days by a fall of snow, which buried the surrounding country to the depth of two feet and more. He had at this time no barometer with him.

In the year 1817 he succeeded in carrying a good barometer to several places near the base of the great chain of the Himalaya mountains; and in 1818 made a number of observations with no fewer than five good ones, the results of which he had an opportunity of comparing with contemporary observations made at Calcutta. In 1819 he proceeded nearly to the base of those lofty peaks which tower above the temple of Kedar-nath whose altitudes he had previously determined by triangulation,—at a great distance however, and under very small angles. But he had now an opportunity, at this temple, to observe one of the peaks under an angle of elevation equal to  $26^{\circ} 15' 15''$ , and this gave him a result which, he says, 'agreed as well as could be expected with the position and altitude he had formerly assigned to it.' The temple itself, according to the mean of results given by five barometers, is 11,897 feet above Calcutta, or about 12,000 above the level of the sea, yet no snow remained in the immediate vicinity of the temple later than the beginning of July.

At this Temple, in a spot unseen before by any European eye, Captain Webb received (and we notice the circumstance with some emotion of pride and pleasure) a copy of our Journal. It was No. XXXIV., in which it may be recollected that we freely stated all the difficulties we felt in reconciling the enormous elevation of the Himalaya mountains, as resulting from Captain Webb's trigonometrical operations, carried on as they necessarily were at such an immense distance from them, and seen by him under such small

angles. We examined the facts stated by Mr. Moorcroft relating to the Nitee Pass and the great plain behind, to which the mountains serve as a supporting wall or buttress; and, taking for our guide the theory which in Europe has been found to correspond with sufficient accuracy to ascertained facts, we drew conclusions with regard to the elevation of this Ghaut and the table-land to which it leads, as erroneous, it now appears, as those of the Baron de Humboldt; so little applicable is that theory to the upper regions of India and Tartary.

'The receipt of the Quarterly Review created,' Captain Webb says, 'in his mind an anxious desire to verify or refute our conclusions on the spot, which he knew his barometers would enable him to do.' With this view he determined at once to set forward, and to try his success at the Nitee Pass through which Mr. Moorcroft had entered the plain of Tartary: and the communication we are now about to lay before our readers is the result of the journey.

Kedar-nath is one of those numerous shrines, which neither difficulties nor dangers, neither mountain-roads, nor fierce torrents, nor steep precipices can deter the pilgrim from visiting, in order to perform those duties which are enjoined by the Hindoo religion—a religion which, Captain Webb justly observes, seems to delight in practically demonstrating to its deluded votaries 'that rugged as is the path' to that region of beatitude, to which in fancy they are pressing forward, its ministers endeavour, by every means which human ingenuity can devise, to render it yet more intolerable by wantonly strewing it with additional thorns.

The extraordinary instances of the pious frauds and inventions of the priests of Brahma, and the credulity, the fanaticism and the self-devotion of their followers, cannot be perused without feelings of indignation at the one, and of compassion for the mental imbecility and bodily sufferings of the other. The object, Captain Webb tells us, of so many toilsome journeys to this spot is nothing more than a misshapen mass of black rock, supposed to resemble the hind quarters of a buffalo; and the legend attached to the temple thus records the transmutation.

Kedar, (one of the *Dii minores*,) being pursued by the giant Bheem-sing, was overtaken near the spot where the temple now stands. With admirable presence of mind he transformed himself into a buffalo, and joined a herd of those animals then grazing in the vicinity. Scarcely, however, had he assumed his new shape when Bheem-sing was in the midst of them, and suspecting the trick, devised a notable expedient for detecting the object of his pursuit. Placing himself in an attitude something like that of the Colossus of Rhodes, he compelled the whole herd to pass singly between his legs; all went through but poor Kedar, whose unwieldy carcass (for  
the

the god had ill-calculated his bulk) was jammed midway. Before Bheem-sing could execute vengeance on his enemy, however, the violence of Kedar's struggles caused his body to separate into two parts; the head and shoulders, diving underground, reached Nepaul (where they may still be seen) by a subterraneous passage; the rump remained a trophy to the giant.

If this idle legend was intended only to amuse the people, it would merely be ridiculous; but it is taught and believed, that at this black rock, the sins of the body may be expiated, and an intimate union with the ethereal essence of the deity be accomplished, by the voluntary sacrifice of life. The self-devoted victim is first required to distribute his property and his apparel among the Bramins; and is then directed to proceed in a state of nakedness, till he reaches the gorge of a snowy defile, when, having arrived at a perpendicular precipice of tremendous height, he is ordered to leap into the horrible abyss beneath—nor are victims wanting for this dreadful sacrifice.

'A few days (says Capt. Webb) before my arrival, three females of middle age had dared this fearful ordeal; but, strange to relate, had returned to the temple, after having sought death in vain for three days and three nights, in the midst of snow and without food, being unable to discover the precipice. One of these infatuated beings died a few hours after her return to Kedar-nath; the other two had been placed under a shed by the way-side, and asked for charity as I passed. One of them was likely to recover, with the loss of both feet and one hand; but the extremities of the other were in such a terrible state of mortification, that a few days must have terminated her misery, aggravated as it was by the perfect conviction, as she told me, that the God had rejected her sacrifice, and shut his ear to her prayers.'

Leaving, then, this scene of human infatuation, misery and imposture, Captain Webb proceeded without loss of time. On his arrival at Josimath, which may be considered as the commencement of the defile leading to the Nitee Pass, he unexpectedly encountered (a circumstance sufficiently discouraging to his hopes) one of the East India Company's civil servants, Mr. Traill, Commissioner for the Affairs of Kumaon, proceeding on a mission to the frontier, with a view to open a commercial intercourse with the Tartars. So thin, however, was the population, and so scanty were the supplies which this mountainous district afforded, that it was deemed inexpedient for the two *camps* to proceed in company, lest they should incur the danger of famine.

Captain Webb and his attendants were therefore left behind, and Mr. Traill proceeded on his mission. He reached the village of Nitee, the most advanced spot which is inhabited in the British possessions, where he experienced a severe attack of illness. He

had sent forward, however, a person to announce his approach, who on his return informed the Commissioner, that the Tartar chiefs had declined all intercourse, and that they had pushed forward piquets of cavalry towards the pass, to dispute his advance into Tartary, should any such attempt be made. These untoward circumstances, and the state of Mr. Traill's health, decided this gentleman to return immediately to Josimath, in the neighbourhood of which Captain Webb had found him, and where he had fortunately been detained by the violence of the periodical rains, during the interval of the Commissioner's absence.

Discouraging as this repulse might appear, Captain Webb determined at once to try his success with the people of the frontiers; conceiving that, as the road was now open, and as he had on a former occasion gained a little insight into the Tartar character by an intercourse with some of their chiefs at Lebong, he might prevail on them to allow him to pass the mountains: with this view, having obtained from Mr. Traill a small investment of goods intended for the border market, he set out in the garb of a trader, and passed with the natives as a 'Feringhee Beópar,' or Christian merchant.

In pursuing the same road to the Pass as that taken by Mr. Moorcroft, he had an opportunity of verifying many of the observations of that enterprising traveller; among others, he found both the cypress and cedar, whose existence was doubted by Mr. Colebrooke, though they were not of those enormous dimensions given by Moorcroft, especially the cedar, for which Captain Webb supposes he must have mistaken the *deodar*, a tree which grows to a very large size. Both the species of cedar were, in fact, small, and one of them crept along the ground. The cypress appeared to be the *C. horizontalis*. The *pinus strobus* was very common; and a new species, to which Dr. Wallich, the Company's botanist, has given the specific name of *Webbii*, is described as having the habit and leaves of the silver fir, and the cones of the cedar. The berry-bearing yew was of frequent occurrence. Dr. Wallich, in speaking of the acquisitions made by Captain Webb in these more than Alpine regions, mentions 'several new and stately pines and junipers, the yew, walnut, horse-chestnut, hazel, birch, poplar, rhubarb, some highly interesting sorts of grains used by the Tartars, besides a great variety of others, accompanied with extremely important observations on their habits, cultivation and use.'

Without entertaining any doubt of the difficulty of respiration felt by Mr. Moorcroft in ascending the Ghaut, we observed that much more elevated regions had been ascended, without such an effect being produced, and therefore conceived that it might arise from his ill state of health. Captain Webb, however, confirms his statement, not only from the evidence of his own sensations, but from

from that of the mountaineers themselves, who are as sensible of it as strangers; and he further assures us, that neither horses nor yaks are exempt from its influence. The natives call it *Bis-kee-huwa*, or the poisonous atmosphere, and conceive it to be owing to the effluvia of certain flowers, and that it is induced by walking or exertion of any kind.

‘Every person (says our traveller) complained of loss of appetite for many days after our arrival at Nitee. For my part, I felt exactly those sensations which precede an attack of ague, with great oppression, increasing action of the heart, and of the viscera. But one man, who was with me, suffered one of those attacks to which the Bhoteas are subject, in the commencement of the season, and which they consider to be more directly produced by the *Bis-kee-huwa*. He had descended to the margin of the river about day-break, and while re-ascending, lost at once the use of his limbs and of his recollection; animation was not indeed quite suspended, but it appeared to me only a milder fit of apoplexy. His extremities became cold: and after vainly attempting his recovery by friction, and applying hot stones to his palms and feet for several hours, I ventured to give him an emetic; a large quantity of foam was thrown up, and in two or three days he recovered. I believe this secretion of foam is a peculiar effect of inhaling noxious vapours.’

On his arrival at Nitee, Captain Webb deemed it prudent to remain a few days, to negotiate for the removal of the Tartar piquet of cavalry, and for his own honourable reception at the boundary; two points which were at once acceded to in consequence of a voluntary proposition on his part, to engage not to pass the frontier without a regular passport. Captain Webb, on a former occasion, had witnessed the ceremonial under which such engagements are made, and experienced the fidelity with which they are kept. The ceremony differs but little from the breaking of a sixpence between two lovers; the object to be broken, in the Tartar custom, which is probably as old as the world itself, being a more vulgar material—a common stone, a fragment of which is carried away by each of the contracting parties, and set up in some convenient place as a memorial and evidence of the agreement.

Proceeding from the village of Nitee towards the Ghaut of that name, Captain Webb was met, about one day's march on the British side of the frontier, by a deputation of respectable inhabitants from the town of Daba, who immediately entered into a friendly conversation with him. The confidence they thus at once shewed for an entire stranger was owing, in some degree, as Captain Webb soon discovered, to the accidental arrival at Daba (during his negotiations at Nitee) of his old Tartar acquaintance, the ex-governor of Tuklakot, who being relieved from his office in the usual routine of three years, was now on his return to Lassa, his native city; and had made a strong impression on the



governor of Daba, in favour of Captain Webb. No objections were opposed to his advance as far as the frontier; and such was their confidence that he would not transgress that limit, that when Captain Webb proposed, on their leaving him, that one of their horsemen should remain behind to see that he kept the treaty, he was told it was not necessary; and that they had no apprehensions of his breaking the agreement.

The visitors now intimated a wish to inspect his merchandize, acquainting him, at the same time, that no barter or purchase could be allowed till permission should be received from Gertop, to the government of which that of Daba is subordinate. The bales were accordingly opened, the articles admired, and admitted to be prodigiously cheap.

‘An old gentleman, to whom I gave a pair of spectacles to assist him in his task, made a most minute schedule of the whole, and of the prices fixed to each article; it was then proposed to me to return to Nitee, after I should have visited the Pass, at which place an answer was promised on the fifteenth day, and, if favourable, the goods would be taken off my hands; and so sanguine were they in their expectations that it would be so, that they actually gave commissions for the greater part of the articles, to some of the Bootas residing at Nitee.’

On the following day, the troop of horse set off towards home, leaving Captain Webb at leisure to make his observations on this interesting Pass, unobserved and unmolested. Punctually, as it had been settled, two Tartar horsemen returned on the fifteenth day, with the reply from Gertop, which stated the impossibility of compliance, without authority from the Viceroy of Lassa, whose decision was promised to be obtained and communicated, at the opening of the market on the following year: the people of Gertop had very little doubt of obtaining permission to trade at any mart, which might be opened on the British side of the frontier; but a reference, it was added, would be made by the Viceroy to the court of Peking for further instructions:—if so, we have not much hesitation in saying that there is an end to all amicable intercourse with Tartary; the Chinese government being already far too jealous of our progress on the side of Nepaul and Bootan, to admit, if they can help it, any closer intercourse with their Tartar provinces.

The barometrical observations made by Captain Webb in the Nitee Pass are very interesting and important, as giving results utterly at variance, as we before stated, with M. de Humboldt's isothermal lines of temperature, and inconsistent with the facts, and the theory on which the tables of ‘the lower limit of perpetual congelation’ have been constructed. Every one must be aware that these tables are subject to anomalies, and that allowances must necessarily be made for various local circumstances.

Accordingly,

Accordingly, in forming some estimate of the elevation of the Nitee Ghaut above the sea, from Moorcroft's description, we conceived that a deduction ought to be made for the immense mass of mountain ranges, backed by an extensive table-land, and for their great distance from the sea; circumstances which, in ordinary cases, might be supposed to increase the refrigeration of the super-incumbent atmosphere, and, consequently, to lower the tabular point of permanent snow. Just the reverse, however, are the results of Captain Webb's observations; and we have so much confidence in the care and accuracy with which they were conducted, that not a shadow of doubt remains in our minds on the general correctness of them.

The observations made by Captain Webb on the crest or highest ridge of Nitee Ghaut, taken on the 21st August, at 3 p. m. by the mean of four barometers, the thermometer standing at 47°, gave a mean of 16.27 inches.

From a journal of the weather kept by Colonel Hardwicke, at Dumdum, about 50 feet above the sea, it appears that, on the two days preceding, and two days following, the one on which Captain Webb observed in the Nitee Ghaut, the state of the barometer and thermometer, at 2 p. m. was as under:—

|                        | In.   |             |      |
|------------------------|-------|-------------|------|
| August 19th. Barometer | 29.46 | Thermometer | 88°  |
| 20 . . . . .           | 29.46 | . . . . .   | 84   |
| 21 . . . . .           | 29.48 | . . . . .   | 85   |
| 22 . . . . .           | 29.48 | . . . . .   | 84   |
| 23 . . . . .           | 29.65 | . . . . .   | 81   |
| Mean . . . . .         | 29.51 | . . . . .   | 84.4 |

The difference of elevation corresponding with these observations, between the Nitee Ghaut and Dumdum, is 16,764 feet.

Dumdum above the sea . . . . + 50

Height of the Pass above the sea . . 16,814 feet.

As compared with a diary kept by Mr. Colvin, (but not complete for the five days, and the observations made at noon when the barometer generally stands higher than at 2 p. m.) the altitude of the Pass would be 16,976 feet; but the comparison with Col. Hardwicke's instruments is so satisfactory, that 16,814 feet may be taken for the height of Nitee Ghaut above the level of the sea. Yet not a vestige of snow appeared in the Ghaut, nor on the projecting shoulder of the mountain ridge, rising about 300 feet on the left or western side of the Pass; so that we may assume the height of the lower point of congelation, on the northern side of the Himalaya Mountains, at not less than seventeen thou-

sand feet! We say the northern side, because it would appear that, on the southern face of this enormous chain, the lower point of perpetual congelation differs very considerably from that on the opposite side; though neither on the southern face does the line of perpetual snow agree with the theory of Humboldt, Leslie, Kirwan, or any of the tables constructed in Europe. Thus Kedar-nath, on the verge of perpetual snow, was found, as we have stated, to be 11,897 feet above Calcutta, or 12,000 feet above the level of the sea; being about 700 feet higher than Leslie's table would give for the height of this temple. Captain Webb had previously ascertained that the village and temple of Milem, in lat.  $30^{\circ} 25'$  were, one 11,512, the other 11,790 feet above the sea, both of which, according to theory, would have been some hundreds of feet within the limit of perpetual snow; yet, here he found extensive fields of buck-wheat and Tartaric barley, occupying the space between the village and the temple. The following year, on the 21st June, 1818, on a ridge of mountains south of the Dauli river, he ascertained, barometrically, the elevation to be 11,790 feet above the sea, being considerably within the limit of eternal snow according to theory; yet, says Mr. Colebrooke, 'his encampment, where the observation was made, was surrounded by flourishing woods of hoary oaks, long-leaved pine, and arborescent rhododendron; and the surface was clothed with a rank vegetation of herbs.\*' Nay more, from an observation made the following day, on the summit of the *Pilgointi-churhai* Pass, he concluded the elevation to be more than 12,700 feet above the sea, yet no snow was visible, and the black soil was clad with creeping plants, and flowering herbs, in luxuriant abundance; and, the shoulder of a mountain, on the one hand, rising still higher, was without a vestige of snow, and appeared, as far as the view extended through the mist, enamelled with flowers; on the other hand, a sloping declivity exhibited a forest of birch, pine, and rhododendron.

Considerable as these anomalies are on the southern side of the great Hindoo range, they dwindle into nothing when compared with those which Captain Webb subsequently discovered to exist within the Ghaut, and on the northern side of that range. The crest of the Nitee pass, where the observation which gave 16,814 feet for its elevation was made, appears to be close to its northern extremity, and so situated as to command a view across the great elevated plateau or table-land, known to the Hindoos by the name of Undes or Oon-des, 'the region of Wool,' it being from this lofty country that the Cashmere manufacturers are chiefly supplied with the material from which their celebrated shawls are made.

\* Quar. Journ. of Lit. Scien. and the Arts. No. XIII.

It is part of that country marked in our charts with the name of Little Thibet,—a name however which Captain Webb found to be unknown to the Tartar Chief with whom he conversed at Tukulakot, and derived, as he conjectures, from *Teiba*, signifying, in the Ghorcali language, ‘high-peaked mountains.’

Faithful to his contract, Captain Webb did not presume to advance beyond the crest of the Ghaut; but as he could from thence discern the Sutledge river winding through the plain to the westward, he observed the angle of depression, which the nearest point of this river made with his station; and from this angle, and the distance, he calculated the elevation of the lowest part of the table-land, (which is of course that through which the river flows,) to be about 14,924 feet: and in coming to this conclusion, he could not be far amiss. The angle of depression was no more than  $1^{\circ} 28' 10''$ , and the distance which he assumed for the nearest part of the river was 15.5 British miles, taken from Moorcroft's map;—‘and as the distance (says Captain Webb) in that map which I had actually travelled over, appeared to be tolerably correct, or at least agreed tolerably well with my measurement, I conclude that there is still less chance of its being erroneous, where his route lay over a comparatively level surface.’ This testimony, it is but justice to observe, is highly creditable to the accuracy of Mr. Moorcroft, and his Hindoo pundit, whose *four-foot strides* furnished the only means of his measurements.

Notwithstanding the enormous elevation of fifteen thousand feet, so far is this table-land of Tartary from being buried under eternal snows, and uninhabitable by man or beast, as theory would suppose it to be, that the banks of the Sutledge afford the finest pastures for myriads of quadrupeds throughout the year. The town of Daba too, which Mr. Moorcroft informed us was a mere summer residence, appears to be tenanted in all seasons. In the neighbourhood of this place, and near Doompoo, both considerably higher than the bed of the Sutledge, Captain Webb was informed that the finest crops of a grain called Ooa were gathered, from which the natives make their bread. There is a species of barley of this name or something like it (awa), which is cultivated by the Booteas on the southern side of the Himalaya mountains; and Captain Webb supposed, from its appearance, the Ooa of the plateau to be also a barley. Dr. Wallich, however, an experienced botanist, has pronounced it, from the specimens sent to him by Captain Webb, to be a new species of wheat. But whether barley or wheat, the meal which it yields is said to be remarkably fine. ‘To an *unlearned* observer,’ says Captain Webb, ‘the Ooa while in the ear resembles barley, (*bearded*, we suppose) but when deprived of its husk, wheat.’ This hardy grain, growing at the elevation of fifteen thousand feet,  
may

may prove of the utmost importance to Great Britain; as it would unquestionably thrive well in the Highlands of Scotland and the Hebrides; and might not be an unimportant article in the projected cultivation of Dartmoor, and other elevated moors, which, from their bleak and exposed situation, have been deemed unfit for the cultivation of grain. Samples of this Tartar grain have been sent to Sir Joseph Banks, and in better hands it could not possibly be placed.

Whether there be any remarkable degree of heat developed in these elevated regions, we have not the means of knowing experimentally; but the fact can scarcely be doubted. The summers, however, are exceedingly short, commencing about the middle of June and ending about the middle of August, scarcely ever extending to the close of that month. Even so early as the 10th of August, we are told by Mr. Moorcroft, the thermometer in the morning fell to  $32^{\circ}$ , and his tent was covered two inches thick with snow; on the 28th, near the Nitee pass, the mercury stood at  $28^{\circ}$ , and the ice was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches thick. How then does this grain ripen? Is the degree of temperature which produced the 'tamarisk shrubs of eight feet high,' seen by Mr. Moorcroft on the banks of the Sutledge, and the 'two very beautiful poplar-trees, in which were many goldfinches,' sufficient to ripen barley? or was Captain Webb misinformed? We know, at least, that a particular species of this grain does ripen on the southern side of the Himalaya, at an elevation of eleven or twelve thousand feet. It is true, as we find from Mr. Traill, that there the temperature varies during the hottest part of the day, from  $60^{\circ}$  to  $75^{\circ}$  of Fahrenheit, in the shade, and in the night is not lower than from  $45^{\circ}$  to  $50^{\circ}$ ; that the sun shines out during his whole course, and that scarcely a shower of rain ever falls. This shining out, however, in a clear blue sky, and at such an elevation, would rather retard than hasten the ripening of the crop, the upper regions of the atmosphere acquiring, in such a state, an increased capacity for heat.\* 'After the middle of August,' says Mr. Traill, 'the weather becomes very precarious. From that period, none of the inhabitants are suffered to ascend to the tops of the surrounding mountains, or to use fire-arms in the neighbourhood of the villages; as the occurrence of either of these events at that time, is found from experience generally to occasion a fall of snow above, and a frost below, by the latter of which the ripening crops would be wholly destroyed.†

\* In the clear blue sky of the valley of Chamouni, if the crops should not have ripened towards the end of the season, the peasants make fires of green wood, on the two sides of the enclosing mountains, the smoke of which uniting in the middle, forms a kind of cloudy canopy, which is found not only to prevent the escape of radiated heat, but to increase its intensity and to check the descent of frost.

† Royal Institution Journal, No. XIII.

This is neither superstition, nor a mere vulgar error. The sudden concussion of the air is well known to produce very extraordinary effects. Thus the inhabitants of the valley of Chamouny are aware, that the discharge of a fowling-piece, or even loud speaking, would bring down an avalanche, or break off some of those huge icy pinnacles, known by the name of *aiguilles*, rising out of the glacier. The firing of a musket by the late discovery ships, in one of the bays of Spitzbergen, shivered in pieces an enormous iceberg, whose fragments covered a square mile of the surface of the sea. With regard to the 'fall of snow, and the frost,' it must be recollected, that any sudden concussion of the air, when in a calm state, at or below the freezing point, will produce an instantaneous congelation of the suspended vapour; just as water cooled below the temperature of melting snow will remain liquid, but is immediately congealed on the slightest concussion; or, as Glauber's salt, dissolved in warm water, will, if shaken, when cold, crystallize at once, and assume a solid form.

Whatever be the cause, it is now pretty certain that an extraordinary degree of heat does prevail in the summer months on the elevated plain of Tartary; otherwise the point of the curve of congelation, in the 30th parallel of latitude, could not be higher here, as it is, than under the equator on the continent of America: for the limit of perpetual snow on the side of Chimborazo is, according to the observations of Baron de Humboldt, at an elevation of 15,747 feet, whereas that in the Nitee Ghaut is, as we have seen, at not less than 17,000 feet, or 1,253 feet higher than the former, and at 5,500 feet, or more than a mile, higher than it ought to be in that parallel of latitude, according to the table constructed by Professor Leslie.

The only explanation, which this anomaly seems to admit, is just contrary to that which would be applied to the comparatively small mountain masses of Europe, or other parts of the world; as in the instances of the Pic of Teneriffe, and the Abyssinian Geesh, the one at 13,000 having no snow for three or four months, the other, by Bruce's account, from 14,000 to 15,000 feet, being without snow at all times, owing, it is thought, to their peaked forms and their proximity to the sea. In the Himalaya and its northern plateau, we have a vast extent of elevated land, which rises out of central Asia, as M. Pauw has observed, like the boss of a shield; whose extensive surface, instead of cooling the superincumbent atmosphere, has the effect of raising its temperature, by the radiation of the heat collected from the rays of the summer sun; while the surfaces of slender pointed peaks, affording not the means of such radiation, suffer the heat to mount into the higher strata, where the capacity for caloric is greater. M. de Humboldt observes, that  
these

these mountainous ranges of central Asia, and the vast plains which they support, form an immense mass of elevated land, stretching from Daouria on the East to Belur-tagh, on the West, through forty-seven degrees of longitude, and from the Altai on the North, to the Himalaya on the South, a mean breadth of twenty degrees of latitude:—presenting thus a surface of regions more or less elevated, equal to 3,266,500 square British miles, scarcely one of which is known in modern times, though it formerly contained the flourishing cities of Balk, Samarcand, Bokhara, Cashgar, &c., and was, as some have conjectured, the cradle of the human race. The Kylas, however, which joins the Himalaya in an acute angle, within the sides of which is the sacred lake of Manasarowar, appears to be the highest ridge; for behind it the waters flow northerly, by north-westerly, and north-easterly; shewing that, in all these directions, this vast plain declines in a gradual slope, interrupted only by insulated mountain masses, or broken ranges. In crossing one of the gorges of the Kylas on the 15th and 16th of July, Moorcroft experienced a hard frost at night, beds of frozen snow lay in the ravines, and splashes of snow half melted in various parts, all which denoted a higher elevation than that of the Nitee pass. Baron de Humboldt further observes, that the Cordilleras of the Andes, though they extend from North to South one hundred and twenty degrees of latitude, are not more, generally speaking, than from two to three and very rarely from four to five degrees in breadth. It was no doubt a want of consideration of this great difference in the extent of surface, that led the Baron to make the erroneous comparison of the elevation of the great plateau of Tartary with that of the province of Los Pastos, in the Andes, the mean height of which he states only at 3000 metres, or 9,928 English feet.

This conclusion of his is the more remarkable, as the explanation which we have offered of the high degree of temperature, at the extraordinary elevation of the plains of Tartary, seems to coincide with the doctrine laid down in Baron de Humboldt's essay on Isothermal lines. 'As the heat,' he says, 'of high regions of the atmosphere depends on the radiation of the plains, it is conceived that, under the same geographical parallels, one may not find, in the system of trans-atlantic climates, the isothermal lines at the same elevation above the level of the sea, as in the system of European climates.' Had this observation on the difference caused by the radiation of plain surfaces occurred to him when writing on the height of the plains of Tartary, he would scarcely have thought of comparing the effects of the latter with those of the very circumscribed plains of Los Pastos.

Besides, the extraordinary effect produced by radiation on elevated plains of vast extent had been demonstrated by him in the  
instance



instance of the great height which the line of perpetual congelation reaches on the mountains rising out of the plain of Mexico. This line he finds by actual experiment to be, in lat.  $19^{\circ}$ — $20^{\circ}$ , at 15,090 feet above the sea, which is much higher than it ought to be according to theory; by Professor Leslie's table it would only be at 13,560 feet, making a difference of 1,530 feet, occasioned no doubt by the radiation of the plain. This effect is also obvious from the small difference in the height of the lower point of congelation on the side of Chimborazo, nearly under the equator, and on the mountains of Mexico, in  $20^{\circ}$  of N. latitude, the former being 15,746 and the latter 15,090 feet, making a difference only, in twenty degrees difference of latitude, of 656 feet—whereas, according to Leslie's table, the difference ought to be 1,729 feet.

With every reasonable allowance for the peculiarity in the magnitude, form and situation of the land of central Asia, the enormous difference between the results of Captain Webb's observations, and those of the tables computed on a mixture of facts and theory, would almost lead us to suspect the accuracy of this officer's observations, as we certainly should have done, had they been made with a solitary barometer; but the mean of four instruments, all of the best kind and acting well together, can scarcely be considered as doubtful; and the knowledge and experience of the observer will not permit us to call in question the accuracy of his experiments. We regret, however, that he was not allowed to proceed as far as the Sutledge, to mark the height at which the mercury might have stood in the tube in the bed of that river, and to ascertain how far, on a comparison with the elevation obtained trigonometrically, it corresponded with that elevation; and thus to ascertain whether the density of the atmosphere, as well as its temperature, had suffered any variation from the mean density of the air at the same elevation in other parts of the world—but mostly we regret it, as the great plain would have afforded to Captain Webb an admirable opportunity of obtaining the heights of the peaked summits of the Himalaya range, by angles taken at the extremities of so elevated a base, and at so short a distance from them; and of comparing those new results with those of his former observations, made under such disadvantageous circumstances, as to leave the correctness of them somewhat doubtful.

While Captain Webb remained in these elevated regions, he collected a variety of objects of natural history, and a few organic remains, among which were some fossil bones, which he says, the cognoscenti in Calcutta seem to consider as belonging to the human species; and, 'as I observe (he adds), that M. Cuvier in his essay denies that any such have yet been discovered, it will be gratifying to the curiosity of geologists should the fact be so established.' The fact,

fact, however, has *not* been established; M. Cuvier's theory is yet safe; and the 'cognoscenti of Calcutta' have proved themselves not very *cognoscent* in these matters. The bones have been carefully examined in London, and pronounced *not* to belong to the human species, but (from a comparison made in the excellent collection of the College of Surgeons) to the deer family: they are considered however as objects of curiosity from the position in which they were found—in a bed of gravel on the side of the Kylas mountain, 16,000 feet above the level of the sea—a height at which it is more than probable no organic remains had hitherto been discovered.

We have pleasure in adding that, assisted by Dr. Wallich in the part of natural history, it is the intention of Captain Webb speedily to publish a narrative of his proceedings in that most interesting part of the globe, in which he has passed so many years of his life.

ART. VII.—*A Letter respectfully addressed to His Royal Highness the Prince Regent on occasion of the Death of her late lamented Majesty.* By Lysias. pp. 20.

IF the value of a publication were to be estimated by its magnitude, the pamphlet at the head of this article must be doomed to stand low in the scale of merit; and, amidst the larger works to which our attention is usually directed, might probably pass unnoticed. But if we regard less the size of a book than the subject of which it treats, and the spirit and ability of its composition, the case will be altered; and Lysias will have no need to shrink from the presence of his more portly contemporaries:—

Μικρὸς μὲν ἦν δέμας, ἀλλὰ μαχητὴς.

The design of this address is to submit to the attention of the Prince Regent (by the recent dispensation of Providence, now placed in a station yet more exalted) the importance of maintaining the order and purity of his court. Individuals may possibly differ in the construction which they would affix to the terms 'order and purity'; and from the influence of education, the force of habit, or the nature of the society in which they are usually to be found, some persons would probably condemn in the detail what others, who concur with them in the general principle, would as cordially approve; but upon the main question itself, whether it be desirable to preserve from moral contamination the palaces of kings, he must be either very wicked or very foolish, who would answer in the negative.

It is an indisputable fact that the manners of the higher classes of society must, under any circumstances, produce considerable effects upon the ranks below them. This will be more especially the case in a free country; where every man is acquainted with the

the conduct of his superiors, and the influence of example has all the range which publicity can give it. A virtuous court will have therefore a very powerful tendency to create a virtuous population; and if it were proposed to corrupt the principles and to vitiate the manners of a people, the object would be most certainly attained by commencing operations under the shadow of the throne. This is not more the fountain of honour than of morals; and if these waters be tainted, the evil will neither be slow in its progress nor partial in its effects.

Nor does the mischief lie merely in the contagion of bad example. There is a certain reasoning process, which unhappily lends its aid to the same bad cause; and of this the enemies of order and religion are but too ready to avail themselves. The use which has been recently made, and on a public occasion, of the name of a privy counsellor whose principles were alleged to be infidel, may serve to point out what would be the impression upon multitudes of our people, if the day should ever arrive, when the court of our sovereigns shall cease to be conspicuous for that moral rectitude and moral feeling which the religion of the country so imperiously requires. Many, we fear, would be inclined to believe that, in the judgment of their rulers, christianity is a fable—a mere engine of state—a piece of political machinery, of which the sole object is to preserve the constitution and to secure especially the permanence of the throne;—and it would follow, as a necessary consequence, that the clergy, in place of retaining their character and influence as the ministers of sacred truth, would be held up as the mere agents of the state under the cloak of religion? Could any common spectator in the reign of Charles II. suppose for one moment that either the sovereign or his courtiers had the slightest regard for that revelation, which, with whatever outward respect they might occasionally treat it, they daily and publicly insulted by their shameless profligacy? If it be important that the people should hold in due reverence the religion of their fathers, it is not less so that it should be treated with habitual reverence and respect by the constituted authorities of the state.

Without going farther into the argument, we may on these grounds venture broadly to affirm that the best and dearest interests of a nation are deeply involved in the purity of the court. In whatever degree the morals and principles of the community are affected by it, in that same degree will its influence be visible through the general course of their public and private conduct, and mix itself with all that constitutes the strength and greatness and welfare of a people.

We are happily no otherwise concerned in this subject than as  
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it relates to the *preservation* of that order and purity, which has so long been established and so inflexibly maintained at the court of Great Britain. Among other obligations which we owe to our late lamented and venerable Queen, this is by no means the least that, for half a century, she stood forward with unwearied vigilance and unbending resolution, as the guardian and protector of public morals; she neither countenanced indecorum by her example, nor would tolerate it in her presence; and, at a time when nearly all the other courts of Europe were open, with little discrimination, to the most abandoned and profligate characters, she raised around the throne of these realms a barrier, which no rank, however exalted, without the additional recommendation of a spotless name, was suffered to pass.

The pamphlet of Lysias is founded upon the melancholy event of the Queen's death; he considers it as a crisis in the public life of the Prince Regent; and takes occasion, from the new circumstances in which his Royal Highness is thus necessarily placed, to offer such advice as he deems suitable to the emergence.

Rulers have not seldom the fortune to be furnished with gratuitous counsel from the press; nor is it unusual in such cases for the self-constituted adviser to shun publicity. But unhappily it often appears that this shrinking from the public gaze is occasioned by motives, which but too well justify it. The authors love darkness, not retirement, and may be said to hate the light because their words are evil. We have in Lysias the example of another spirit; he writes with all the deference, which is due from a subject to his Prince; he has no wish to withhold the tribute of his approbation, where approbation is due; and from an honest love to his country as well as a virtuous attachment to its ruler, he evidently takes pleasure in expatiating upon that taste and feeling, and rectitude of principle, of which, with equal delicacy and judgment, he has adduced such gratifying instances in the conduct of the personage addressed.

The following passages will serve to convey a fair idea of the tone and manner of this writer, and will supersede the necessity of further commendation.

‘I have already, Sir, referred to the important services of her late lamented Majesty, as the uniform and judicious guardian of our public manners. There can be no doubt that her character, in this point of view, is fully appreciated—that it is venerated—that it is cherished—by the filial mind of her son. For half a century, this country has been permitted to exhibit to the world the unusual spectacle of a court distinguished by irreproachable purity and decorum, without any sacrifice of the taste and elegance that belong to a civilized age, or of the splendour and magnificence that befit a throne. There cannot be the smallest doubt

doubt that your Royal Highness would wish the court over which you preside, to retain this enviable pre-eminence of character.

I shall not, I am persuaded, be thought to question the strength of this sentiment in the mind of your Royal Highness, if I attempt to remove some imaginary difficulties that may be thought to oppose its being carried into practice. There are those who appear to conceive, that the court, while a female sovereign presided over it, admitted of a strictness and correctness of decorum, which it cannot be expected to exhibit under the superintendence of a Prince. The opinion of the world certainly sanctions a degree of laxity in the social habits of a house where there is no female head; and it may be argued that the same licence must, under the same circumstances, be allowed to a court.

The force of this reasoning I own that I am utterly unable to perceive. Let it be granted, for argument's sake, that a Prince, in his strictly private habits, in such parts of his life as are unseen, and into which the public cannot pry without impertinence, may claim to himself that privilege of measured laxity, which opinion (though, in my judgment, most unjustifiably) grants to individuals of the same sex in stations less exalted. But a Prince *at the head of a court*; a Prince acting or appearing *on state occasions*; a Prince even on such social occasions as are of a more formal nature, and which only half divest him of his robes of state; a Prince, even in such parts of his properly private and domestic life, as are conspicuous to the public eye, and must be influential on public fashion; seems to me to be at least as much bound by the laws of decency, and by the obligation of paying respect to appearances, as a private gentleman at the head of a table at which females of rank and character should be the guests.

Let not the aim of this Address be misconceived. There is no one characteristic of the present day, which the writer presumes more entirely to dislike and disapprove, than the too prevalent habit of exercising an inquisitorial scrutiny into the follies, the faults, or even the vices, be they more or less, of the great. On the ground of vague surmises and suspicions; on the credit of reports more wicked than the crimes they impute; the private characters of persons in eminent stations are daily traduced and vilified. All this proves the bad morals, not of the accused, but of their accusers; for what more comprehensive breach of duty can be conceived, than thus at once to forget the spirit of that charity which enjoins us to think no evil, and the obligation of that respect for rank which forbids us to speak evil of dignities?

An author\*, with whose writings, in all their original force and beauty, I am told that your Royal Highness is familiar, has somewhere described the Roman people, in their declining days, by the term *Civitas rimandis offensis sagax*; and perhaps the expression may without much perversion be applied to those censorious aspersers of rank and dignity to whom I have just been alluding. But, fully admitting and strongly maintaining the impropriety of such censure and such censor-

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\* Tacitus.

ship, I must yet be allowed to think that the public and visible part of a public man's life is, in some sense, public property. I must be allowed to believe that the great, when in the actual and ostensible exercise of their greatness, are bound by the strongest obligations to remember the influence, and to consult the decencies, of those high places of the earth, of which they enjoy the privileges, and shine in the splendour.

‘Here then, Sir, is that which I have ventured to describe as a new crisis in the public life of your Royal Highness. There is no one fact, past or present, more certain than that the attention and hopes of all that large proportion of your Royal Highness's subjects, whose affections are best worth having; of all those who form, comparatively speaking, the moral strength of your Royal Highness's throne; the faithful friends and loyal disciples of the Church and State of England; are deeply interested in the conduct which your Royal Highness shall on this occasion be pleased to adopt. Take nothing, Sir, on the word of an anonymous writer: what I have just stated, I have stated as a matter of fact, and its truth, like that of other matters of fact, may be ascertained by evidence. Be pleased to question those about you, who have the opportunity of familiar intercourse with the middling classes of society, and they will make the same report as your Royal Highness has already received from me.

‘Yes; we long to be satisfied that the spirit of our late revered and excellent Queen will yet live in the order, the decorum, the unstained purity, of the court over which she so long and so beneficially presided. Whether the principle of strictness on which her Majesty acted, was in every single instance justly or properly applied, we are too far removed from the immediate walks of royal and noble life to pretend to determine; but of the justice and propriety of the principle itself, we have the deepest conviction.—We are anxious to see that principle maintained in all its force and dignity; and we should regret our recent loss, not indeed with a deeper or sincerer, but certainly with a far bitterer sorrow, if we were to find that a principle, which shed so much honour on the British name and nation, had been buried in the same grave with its late revered patroness.’—p. 14.

We cannot resist the inclination to lay before our readers the spirited and eloquent passages with which the Letter concludes. They touch upon subjects to which we have already adverted, and they will be read with pleasure by every Briton, who possesses a right taste or an English heart.

‘If it were at all necessary, in addressing so enlightened a mind as that of your Royal Highness, to enlarge on this important subject, I might remark, what is a curious fact, that the brightest and most successful reigns recorded in the English history, have generally been distinguished by the purity of the court. And this is perhaps one reason why our female reigns have been so prosperous. The comparative decorum maintained by Queen Elizabeth, contributed, and, as I believe, in no small degree, to rally round her the affections of her subjects with  
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a strength and constancy which were found battle-proof in the hour of aggravated peril and difficulty. The great counsellors and mighty captains of Queen Anne were as true, but scarcely as effective friends to her glory, as her moral virtues. But, happily, the exemplification of this truth has not been confined to female reigns. The third William bound together a divided and a distracted people, not so much by his genius or his courage, though the one was on the whole commanding, and the other was altogether heroic, as by standing forth the guardian of pure religion and public morals, and by chasing away from the neighbourhood of the throne, all that shameless dissipation and licentiousness which had no less corroded its strength than debased its sanctity under the baleful influence of his two immediate predecessors.

‘There is yet another example, the last and the brightest. Of all the reigns in the English history, none can be found more eventful, none in which our dangers and even our losses have been greater, than that in which we live. America torn away;—Ireland in rebellion;—England in trouble;—all the continental ports shut against us, from Venice to Gibraltar, and from Gibraltar to Archangel;—manufactories of treasonous arms established in the very heart of some of our chief cities and towns;—the majesty of our monarchy derided;—the life of our King openly attacked;—the name of our God shamelessly blasphemed;—such are some of the fearful sights and sounds that we have witnessed. But by what splendid lights these heavy shadows have been relieved! Peace gained in the West, and an empire in the East;—the sovereignty of the constitution established;—our manufactures thriving;—our population nearly doubled;—our wealth tripled;—the prodigious range of our commerce;—the boundless extent of our charities; the immortal memory of Nelson;—the field of Waterloo;—our fame, like the mighty angel of old, bestriding sea and land at once;—such, and many more, are the bright parts of this crowded and interesting picture. At the present moment, our political importance and reputation are unquestionably, and even beyond comparison, greater than in the most brilliant of former periods. Now, should it be required to assign the causes of this phenomenon, far be it from me to undervalue the vigour and wisdom of our political counsels: I have already ventured to say how highly I deem of these. But it is not inconsistent with that sentiment to add, what I do not believe any competent judge will dispute; that no small part of the glorious results in which we thus triumph, is to be ascribed to the steady countenance which our venerable sovereigns have afforded to the cause of good morals. The British court, compared with every other in Europe, has been the court of the virtues. The personal character of the exalted possessors of the throne, and the character of their court, have been a triple rampart to us during the whole of the tremendous struggle in which we have been engaged. This is, indeed, among the most secure of all defences; for, when a state is so fortified, the hearts of the people are ever found to form its garrison.

‘But the influence of a favourite subject is betraying me into a tediousness beyond my privilege.



‘I will therefore check my hand; and shall only add that, on revising the last page, I perceive in it what I hope is a material error. In glancing at the examples, which the British annals afford, of the promotion of national greatness by the virtues of the court, there is one period which I have called the *last* and the *brightest*. A new period has just commenced; and may my application of both these epithets be speedily falsified!’—p. 17.

Here also we shall close our extracts. To seek for trivial objections against such a work, would offend equally against good sense and good taste. While we write, however, an event is announced, in the highest degree calculated to increase the impression of the author’s argument. The British court is now bereaved of both those illustrious persons, under whose auspices it attained its high reputation for morals and religion. How affecting to stand, as it were, by the graves of these partners in royal virtue, and to meditate upon the mighty effects which have resulted from the influence of their private character! Which of those princes, the disastrous magnitude of whose exploits, (measured by the consequent miseries inflicted on a weeping world,) has obtained for them the splendid title of *great*, will hold the same place in history with George III., the pattern of domestic excellence, and in the best sense the Father of his Country, because the father of its virtues? Who so worthy of the appellation of *Defender of the Faith* as he who illustrated the faith which he professed by his actions; by the steady rectitude of his public principles, and the mild and blameless purity of his private life?

In dropping, however, these ‘natural tears’ over the departed guardians of the national virtue, let us not for a moment believe that the place, which *shall know them no more*, will not be filled by emulous and by kindred merit. The cause of public morals, though now doubly an orphan, will find another parent, who will protect and cherish it with the same high-minded resolution which distinguished his immediate predecessors. Like us, he venerates their virtues, and loves their example: and those virtues and this example are endeared to him by all the feelings and affections which live in the heart of a good son toward the noblest and the best of parents. Long may he be preserved thus to honour their memory, and thus to fulfil the ardent expectations of a loyal and generous people! And when at length it shall please the Great Disposer of events to visit these realms with another day of sadness like that which has now wrapped the nation in mourning, may he be followed to the tomb by the same unaffected sorrow which now flows for his venerable Father, and, like him, be held forth as a pattern and example to future kings!

ART.

ART. VIII.—*Travels in Nubia; by the late John Lewis Burckhardt.* Published by the Association for promoting the Discovery of the interior Parts of Africa. 1819.

THE friends of John Lewis Burckhardt, now alas! no more, will receive this memorial of a part of his labours with mixed emotions of satisfaction and regret. In every page they will be reminded of that ardour of research, that patience of investigation, that passionate pursuit after truth, for which he was eminently distinguished. His simple and unstudied narrative will recall that easy, cheerful and unruffled mind, that evenness and serenity of temper which he displayed in social life, and which neither the fatigues nor the privations nor the insults to which he was so frequently exposed in his long and arduous journies, could for a moment unsettle or disturb. Those who have yet to learn his character will learn, from the record now before us, 'what manner of man he was,' and will join in deploring the untimely fate of one whose place, we fear, must long remain unfilled. They will discover that he was a traveller of no common description:—that no food was too coarse for him—no clothing too mean—no condition too humble—no treatment too degrading, when the object was knowledge, and the acquirement of it considered, as it always appeared to be considered, a duty to his employers. In the Deserts of Syria, Arabia or Nubia, and in the hospitable mansion of the venerable president of the Royal Society, Burckhardt was always the same cheerful and contented being.

A gentleman by birth and a scholar by education, he added to the ordinary acquirements of a traveller, accomplishments which fitted him for any society. He had also the happy faculty of adapting himself to all circumstances. With Greeks, Syrians, Arabs, Turks, Nubians, Negroes, he completely identified himself, and put on and threw off their language and manners with the same ease as he did his garment. His descriptions of the countries through which he travels, his narratives of incidents, his transactions with the natives, are all placed before us with equal clearness and simplicity. 'Although,' says his editor, 'Mr. Burckhardt was gifted by nature with sagacity and memory for making accurate observations, and with taste and imagination to give a lively description of them, it must not be forgotten, that he wrote in a language which was not his native tongue, which he did not learn until he was twenty-five years of age, and in the writing of which he had little exercise, until he had arrived in those countries, where he very seldom heard it spoken, and where he had still more rarely any opportunities of referring to English models of composition.'

Mr. Burckhardt was not unacquainted with the systematic nomenclature

menclature of objects of natural history, but he deemed it more useful to insert the native names than to encumber his journal with technical terms, or to load it with scientific descriptions or philosophical discussions, which, if thought necessary, might at any time be added. In this respect no two travellers, each excellent in his own way, could differ more widely than Humboldt and Burckhardt. Of the former, science and philosophy were the leading objects; while the chief concern of the latter was men and manners, the state of society, the modes and conditions of life, languages and opinions; next to these, the geography of countries, and their natural productions; the affiliation of various nations and tribes; and the means resorted to for supplying their wants or increasing their comforts through the instrumentality of commerce:—and on all these points his inquiries were so ably conducted, and the result of them so clearly and distinctly recorded, as to leave little to be gleaned by future travellers. But a short review of his life and his labours, of which indeed we gave a hasty sketch in our XXXVIth Number, will furnish the best panegyric on the character and merits of this extraordinary man.

John Lewis Burckhardt, descended from an ancient family of Basle, was born at Lausanne. He was the eighth child of John Rodolph Burckhardt of Kirshgarten, whose prospects in life were blighted by the French revolution; in the early part of which he was falsely accused, tried, proved innocent, and acquitted. Innocence and acquittal, however, are feeble safeguards among revolutionary demagogues. Young Burckhardt, who daily witnessed the misery inflicted on his country by the republican French, imbibed at a very early age a detestation of their principles, and a determination never to submit to their yoke. In 1800, being then sixteen years of age, he entered the University of Leipzig, whence, after a stay of nearly four years, he was removed to Göttingen. In both places, his exemplary conduct and high feelings of honour, his distinguished talents and ardent zeal for knowledge, ensured him universal esteem and respect; while a remarkable frankness, cheerfulness, kindness, and evenness of temper made him particularly beloved by his more intimate acquaintance. On leaving Göttingen in 1805, he returned to his mother at Basle, where an offer was made to him by one of the Royal Courts of Germany of some employment in the diplomatic line; but as the whole continent was either subject to the French, or in alliance with them, he resolved to try his fortune in England. He arrived in London in July, 1806, bringing with him many letters of introduction, and among others, one to Sir Joseph Banks, from Professor Blumenbach of Göttingen.

At the house of the President of the Royal Society he soon became

came acquainted with the wishes of the African Association to make a new attempt at discovery in the interior of Africa from the north. To a mind equally characterized by courage, a love of science, and a spirit of enterprize, such an undertaking offered peculiar attractions; and accordingly Burckhardt hastened to make a tender of his services to Sir Joseph Banks and the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, the Secretary of the Association. He was gladly accepted; and, in January 1809, received his final instructions, having diligently employed the interval in London and Cambridge in the study of the Arabic language, and in attending lectures on chemistry, astronomy, mineralogy, medicine and surgery. He allowed his beard to grow, assumed the oriental dress, and exercised himself by long journeys on foot, bareheaded, in the heat of the sun, in sleeping upon the ground, and living upon vegetables and water.

As an intimate knowledge of Arabic was of the utmost importance, his instructions directed him in the first instance to proceed to Syria, where, while studying that language in one of the purest schools, he might acquire the oriental manners, at a distance from the intended theatre of his researches, and without the risk of being afterwards recognized. After a stay of two years in Syria, he was to proceed to Cairo, thence by the Fezzan caravan to Mourzook by the route traversed by Horneman; and subsequently, to avail himself of such opportunities as might offer for the countries farther in the interior.

On the 2d March, 1809, Burckhardt sailed from Cowes, and reached Malta about the middle of April; from thence he proceeded for Aleppo, in the character of an Indian Mohammedan merchant, and as the supposed bearer of dispatches from the East Indian Company, to Mr Barker, the British Consul, and the Company's Agent in that city. His fellow-passengers were three Tripolines, and two Negro slaves. In the course of the voyage numerous questions were put to him by these people relative to India, its inhabitants and its language, 'which I answered,' says Burckhardt, 'as well as I could; whenever I was asked for a specimen of the Hindoo language, I answered in the worst dialect of the Swiss German, almost unintelligible even to a German, and which, in its guttural sounds, may fairly rival the harshest utterance of Arabic.' He was at all times willing to lend a helping hand to the merchants and seamen, to divert their attention from his person and affairs.

At Suedieh, where he first went on shore, he joined a caravan, which was on the point of setting out for Aleppo. Here, after a short stay at Antakia, during which he associated chiefly with the muleteers, he arrived in safety, and took up his residence with Mr. Barker the British Consul, as an Indian Mussulman, but still wear-

ing his Turkish dress, and continuing the name he had assumed of Ibrahim, that he might pass unnoticed in the streets and bazars. His first object was to provide a master to instruct him in the literal and vulgar Arabic, preparatory to a projected visit to the Bedouin Arabs in the Desert, among whom it was his intention to dwell for some months. Though his progress was so rapid, that in the course of one year he was able, with little assistance, to turn Robinson Crusoe into an Arabian tale, adapted to Eastern taste and manners, under the title of *Dur El Bahur*, 'The Pearl of the Seas;' yet such are the niceties and difficulties of a language, which to express *wine* (for example) employs no less than one hundred and fifty different terms, that he thought it expedient to remain two years and a half in Syria, in order to lay in a sufficient stock of literature, and to familiarize himself with the character, manners, and customs of Mahommedans.

He was not, however, entirely sedentary during this period; he made, in 1810, a six months' tour to Damascus and through the Haouran and Mount Libanus, the journal of which is in the possession of the African Association: and in 1811, he set out for the Euphrates, in the neighbourhood of which, he spent seven or eight weeks: all traces of this journey are lost, his epistolary correspondence not having reached the Association. The tribes of Arabs which he was anxious to visit were of the most savage kind, and his means of protection insufficient. 'The consequence was,' says Mr. Barker, 'that poor Burckhardt was stripped to the skin; and he returned to Sukhne, his body blistered with the rays of the sun, and without having accomplished any one of the objects of his journey. It was on this excursion to the desert that he had so hard a struggle with an Arab lady, who took a fancy to the only garment which the delicacy or the compassion of the men had left him.' He had previously been robbed of his watch and compass.\*

In May, 1812, we find him at Damascus, on the eve of making a journey along the borders of the Dead Sea, into Arabia Petræa on his way to Cairo. In this, which lasted from the middle of June to the end of September, he states himself to have been 'considerably worn by the fatigues of the road and the intense heat of the season.' By the treachery of a Sheik, and the villainy of a Bedouin

\* It is prudent in travelling among the Arabs to wink at their impositions rather than quarrel with them. Last year a party of English officers got into a dispute with their Arab guides, on their way to Palmyra, when one of the former (Captain Butler of the dragoons) was wounded; their camels were taken from them, and they were obliged to tread back their steps on foot. Unfortunately they lodged a complaint before the Pasha of Damascus, who sent out his troops that very evening, and they brought in the heads of ten Arabs. The consequence will be, that sooner or later ten travellers on that road must be sacrificed, as the retribution of blood is never abandoned by the Bedouin Arabs.

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whom he had recommended, Burckhardt encountered many difficulties, and was obliged to walk from one encampment to another, until he found another Bedouin, who engaged to carry him to Egypt. His account of the Valley of Ghor, or Araba, contained in a letter to the Secretary of the Association, is too interesting to be passed over.

‘The valley of Ghor is continued to the south of the Dead Sea; at about sixteen hours distance from the extremity of the Dead Sea, its name is changed into that of Araba, and it runs in almost a straight line, declining somewhat to the west, as far as Akaba, at the extremity of the eastern branch of the Red Sea. The existence of this valley appears to have been unknown to ancient as well as modern geographers, although it is a very remarkable feature in the geography of Syria, and Arabia Petæa, and is still more interesting for its productions. In this valley the manna is still found; it drops from the sprigs of several trees, but principally from the Gharrab; it is collected by the Arabs, who make cakes of it, and who eat it with butter; they call it Assal Beyrouk, or the honey of Beyrouk. Indigo, gum arabic, the silk tree called Asheyr, whose fruiten closes a white silky substance, of which the Arabs twist their matches, grow in this valley. It is inhabited near the Dead Sea in summer-time by a few Bedouin peasants only, but during the winter months it becomes the meeting place of upwards of a dozen powerful Arab tribes. It is probable that the trade between Jerusalem and the Red Sea was carried on through this valley. The caravan, loaded at Eziongeber with the treasures of Ophir, might, after a march of six or seven days, deposit its loads in the warehouses of Solomon. This valley deserves to be thoroughly known; its examination will lead to many interesting discoveries and would be one of the most important objects of a Palestine traveller. At the distance of a two long days journey north-east from Akaba, is a rivulet and valley in the Djebel Shera, on the east side of the Araba, called Wady Mousa. This place is very interesting for its antiquities and the remains of an ancient city, which I conjecture to be Petra, the capital of Arabia Petæa, a place which, as far as I know, no European traveller has ever visited. In the red sand stone of which the valley is composed, are upwards of two hundred and fifty sepulchres entirely cut out of the rock, the greater part of them with Grecian ornaments. There is a mausoleum in the shape of a temple, of colossal dimensions, likewise cut out of the rock, with all its apartments, its vestibule, peristyle, &c. It is a most beautiful specimen of Grecian architecture, and in perfect preservation. There are other mausolea with obelisks, apparently in the Egyptian style, a whole amphitheatre cut out of the rock with the remains of a palace and of several temples. Upon the summit of the mountain which closes the narrow valley on its western side, is the tomb of Haroun (Aaron, brother of Moses). It is held in great veneration by the Arabs. (If I recollect right, there is a passage in Eusebius, in which he says that the tomb of Aaron was situated near Petra). The information of Pliny and Strabo upon the site of Petra,

Petra, agree with the position of Wady Mousa. I regretted most sensibly that I was not in circumstances that admitted of my observing these antiquities in all their details, but it was necessary for my safety not to inspire the Arabs with suspicions that might probably have impeded the progress of my journey, for I was an unprotected stranger, known to be a townsman, and thus an object of constant curiosity to the Bedouins, who watched all my steps in order to know why I had preferred that road to Egypt, to the shorter one along the Mediterranean coast.—p. xlv.

Of this journey the Association are in possession of a detailed and very interesting account.

A caravan of Twatees, who dwell on the great road between Fezzan and Tombuctoo, was setting out on their return, when he arrived at Cairo; but having no funds to equip himself, and too little acquaintance with the Egyptian and African character to take such measures as would secure his real character from being discovered, he determined on a voyage as far as Dongola, as a preparatory step to the knowledge of the Negro nations, and of those who traffic for slaves; and thus to facilitate his future travels in the interior of Africa. In January 1813 he left Cairo on his first journey through Nubia, (the journal of which forms part of the present volume,) and returned to Assuan on the 30th of March, thirty five-days after setting out from this place, during which he only allowed himself a single half-day's rest at Derr.

No opportunity offering of proceeding into western Africa, he projected a second journey to the banks of the Atbara, or Astaboras, and from thence to Djidda or Moka, and to return by land along the eastern shore of the Red Sea to Cairo. The detailed account of this expedition as far as Djidda on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, forms the subject of the greater part of the volume now before us; and we may here remark, that the extraordinary economical manner in which he travelled, and the conscientious feeling with which he expended the funds of the Association, are among the prominent characteristics of Mr. Burckhardt. In a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, from Djidda, he says, 'When I left Egypt, I had only sixty dollars, and an ass to carry me; twenty-five dollars were spent on the way to Shendy. I was thus much straitened, and I had scarcely enough to buy a slave, a camel, and the necessary provisions for my journey to the Red Sea.' In this journey he crossed that desert to the westward of Dongola by which Bruce returned from Abyssinia, and which has been described in such frightful terms by this enterprising traveller; but the dangers and the sufferings of Burckhardt were occasioned neither by the privations of the Desert, nor its poisonous winds, nor its moving pillars of sand;



sand; but by his apparent poverty, which exposed him to every kind of insult from the wretches with whom he travelled.

At this place, (Djidda,) he was fortunate enough to obtain a supply of money by the means of Yahya Effendi, the physician of Tousoun Pasha, a man educated in Europe, who had known him at Cairo. A whole year nearly had elapsed after his departure from Djidda before the Association received any further advices from their traveller, his first letter being dated from Cairo, after his return from Arabia; but we are told by the Editor, that, 'in the following year, he transmitted to the Association the most accurate and complete account of the Hedjaz, including the cities of Mekka and Medina, which has ever been received in Europe;' that 'he resided at Mekka during the whole time of the pilgrimage, and passed through the various ceremonies of the occasion, without the smallest suspicion having arisen as to his real character;' and that 'the Pasha of Egypt having thought proper to put his qualifications as a Mussulman to the test, by directing the two most learned professors of the law, then in Arabia, to examine him on his knowledge of the Koran, and of the practical as well as doctrinal precepts of their faith, the result was a complete conviction upon the minds of his hearers, or at least of his two examiners, of his being not only a true, but a very learned Mussulman.'

Important as were the experience and information acquired by this journey into Arabia, it would appear that they were but too dearly purchased, as his constitution never recovered from the effects of that fatal climate, which seldom fails to exert its pernicious influence on all strangers who visit it. In June 1815, in a letter to Sir Joseph Banks, from Cairo, he says, the 'approbation of my employers has been to me the source of most heartfelt joy, and the encouragement which I have derived from it has entirely banished from my mind that despondency which my bodily sufferings had caused.' After telling him that he had passed three months at Mecca, he adds: 'I performed on the 25th of November, in the company of more than eighty thousand pilgrims, the Hadj to Mount Arafat.' In January he set out from Mecca to Medina, a journey of ten or eleven days, mostly through deserts. Six days after his arrival at the latter place, he was attacked by a fever, which, he says, 'kept him chained to his carpet until April.' From Medina he descended to the sea-coast at Yembo. Here the plague, a calamity hitherto unknown to Arabia, had lately made its appearance, and its ravages were so great that the inhabitants had fled, and the town was found almost deserted. After a stay of fifteen days, he embarked in a country ship, landed on the promontory of Ras Mohammed, in the peninsula of Mount Sinai, whence he reached Tor, where he suffered a relapse of his fever, which detained him a fortnight; he then

then took the road of Suez, and arrived at Cairo on the 19th of June, 1815, after an absence of nearly two years and a half.

In the course of the succeeding nine months spent in Egypt, in anxious expectation of a caravan setting out for western Africa, he had several relapses of his fever: on the appearance of the plague in Cairo, in April 1816, unwilling to shut himself up, and more so to expose himself to infection, he conceived that he could not do better than retire, while it lasted, to the Bedouins, who enjoy a total exemption from it. Accordingly, he set out for the peninsula of Mount Sinai on the 20th of April, and returned to Cairo on the 18th of June.

His account of this journey, together with his history of the Bedouins, whom he pronounces infinitely superior in all respects to the Turks, will prove exceedingly interesting; as it is from a perfect knowledge of their manners, laws and institutions, that we are able duly to appreciate the truth of the early history of mankind; and it is satisfactory to find in so able an observer as Burckhardt, 'the vindicator of the authenticity of the sacred historian of Beni Israel.'

He now felt himself quite confident of bringing his African expedition to a happy issue: 'If,' says he, 'I fail, it must cost my successor many years of apprenticeship to be able to enter the gates of Lybia with as much confidence as I shall now be able to do.' Among the pilgrims collected at Mecca, in the Hadj of the year 1817, he had encountered a party of Moggrebyns, or western Africans, who were expected to return home, as usual, by the way of Cairo and Fezzan. With this caravan he intended to set off for Fezzan, with hopes not more sanguine than reasonable of being able to penetrate from thence to the countries bordering on the Niger; and by tracing its course, to reap the reward of his long perseverance in acquiring authentic information respecting the unknown regions of Africa, traversed by this celebrated but mysterious stream. Providence ordained otherwise. Early in October, he was attacked by a return of dysentery, which in the course of ten days carried him off,—the afflicting account of his death will be found in No. XXXVI. of this journal. To that we must refer our readers; and conclude the brief introductory sketch of this highly gifted man in the words of his editor.

'As a traveller, he possessed talents and acquirements, which were rendered doubly useful, by his qualities as a man. To the fortitude and ardour of mind, which had stimulated him to devote his life to the advancement of science, in the paths of geographical discovery, he joined a temper and prudence, well calculated to ensure his triumph over every difficulty. His liberality and high principles of honour, his admiration of those generous qualities in others, his detestation of injustice

justice and fraud, his disinterestedness and keen sense of gratitude\* were no less remarkable, than his warmth of heart and active benevolence, which he often exercised towards persons in distress, to the great prejudice of his limited means. No stronger example can easily be given of sensibility united with greatness of mind, than the feelings which he evinced on his death-bed, when his mother's name, and the failure of the great object of his travels, were the only subjects upon which he could not speak without hesitation. By the African Association his loss is severely felt, nor can they easily hope to supply the place of one whom birth, education, genius and industry, conspired to render well adapted to whatever great enterprize his fortitude and honourable ambition might have prompted him to undertake. The strongest testimony of their approbation of his zealous services is due from his employers, to their late regretted traveller; but it is from the public and from posterity, that his memory will receive its due reward of fame; for it cannot be doubted, that his name will be held in honourable remembrance, as long as any credit is given to those who have fallen in the cause of science.—p. lxxxix.

In the review which we are about to take of the two Nubian journals contained in this volume, we must necessarily confine ourselves to a very limited and imperfect outline, in which, however, we shall be careful to use the traveller's own words, wherever we can do so; for although they are those of a foreigner, and, as he tells us, but once transcribed from the collection of daily notes, written in the corner of an open court, by the side of his camels, under the influence of the burning winds of the desert, and the sufferings of a painful ophthalmia, they are penned in all the simplicity of truth, and we feel that no alteration of ours would tend to their improvement.†

Mr. Burckhardt left Assouan, 'the most romantic spot in Egypt, but little deserving the lofty praises which some travellers have bestowed on it for its antiquities,' on the 24th of February, 1813,

\* His present to the University of Cambridge, of the choicest collection of Arabic manuscripts in Europe, was intended as a mark of his gratitude, for the literary benefits, and the kind attention which he received at Cambridge, when preparing himself for his travels. Of his disregard of pecuniary matters, and his generous feeling towards those who were dear to him, a single example will be sufficient. His father having bequeathed at his death about ten thousand pounds, to be divided into five equal parts, one to his widow, and one to each of his children, Lewis Burckhardt immediately gave up his portion, to increase that of his mother. If, he said, I perish in my present undertaking, the money will be where it ought to be; if I return to England, my employers will undoubtedly find me some means of subsistence.

† In the number of the barefaced impositions of the knight of the press in Bridge-street, (published among his Monthly trash,) is a something under the name of 'Burckhardt's Travels in Egypt and Nubia.' It consists merely of a few letters of a Mr. Buckingham, who happened to fall in with Mr. Burckhardt at Esné, and again at Djidda on his return from Mecca; and collected a few particulars from him in the course of conversation. These letters the knight has 'conveyed' out of the Calcutta Journal: the lying 'Introduction' is all his own.

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with two dromedaries and an Arab guide. This man was a native of Nubia, for whose services he bargained as far as Derr, a journey of 140 miles, and for which *one Spanish dollar* was considered as ample payment. The Nubians of Assouan were, at the time of his departure, at war with their southern neighbours, on account of the latter having intercepted a vessel laden with dates belonging to a merchant of the former. In the scuffle a woman in a state of pregnancy had been killed by a stone. The southern party, to whom the deceased belonged, were now demanding from their enemies 'the debt of blood,' not only for the woman, but for the child also which she bore in her womb; and this dispute had not been adjusted on our traveller's return.

Immediately beyond Assouan the mountains approach so near to the Nile as to leave scarcely the width of a hundred yards of cultivable ground. Our traveller passed the first night with the Shikh of Wady Debot: (it may here be observed, once for all, that though the term *wady* generally means a river, it is used, along the borders of the Nile as far as Sennaar, for a valley, or ravine in the mountains.) 'Here,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'I first tasted the country dish—which, during a journey of five weeks, became my constant food—thin, unleavened, and slightly baked cakes of Dhourra, (*Holcus Arundinaceus*,) served up with sweet or sour milk.' As the mention of this universal dish is perpetually occurring, we shall here give our author's description of it. It seems to be nearly allied to the *teff* cakes of the Abyssinians, and not very different from our English *crumpets*.

'The chief article of food is dhourra bread. As they have no mills, not even hand-mills, they grind the dhourra by strewing it upon a smooth stone, about two feet in length and one foot in breadth, which is placed in a sloping position before the person employed to grind. At the lower extremity of the stone, a hole is made in the ground to contain a broken earthen jar, wooden bowl, or some such vessel, which receives the dhourra flower. The grinding is effected by means of a small stone flat at the bottom; this is held in both hands and moved backwards and forwards on the sloping stone by the grinder, who kneels to perform the operation. If the bread is to be of superior quality, the dhourra is well washed, and then dried in the sun; but generally they put it under the grinding stone, without taking the trouble of washing it. In grinding, the grain is kept continually wet by sprinkling some water upon it from a bason placed near, and thus the meal which falls into the pot, resembles a liquid paste of the coarsest kind, mixed with chaff and dirt. With this paste an earthen jar is filled, containing as much as is necessary for the day's consumption. It is left there from twenty-four to thirty-six hours, during which time it slightly ferments and acquires a sourish taste. No leaven is used; the sour liquid is poured in small quantities upon an iron plate placed over the fire, or  
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when no iron is at hand, upon a thin well smoothed stone : and if the iron or stone is thoroughly heated, the cake is baked in three or four minutes. As each cake is small, and must be baked separately, it requires a long time to prepare a sufficient quantity ; for it is the custom to bring several dozen to table while hot, in a large wooden bowl : some onion sauce, or broth, or milk, is then poured upon them ; the sauce is called Mallah. The bread is never salted, but salt is mixed with the sauce. This dish is the common and daily food both at dinner and supper. Although very coarse it is not disagreeable, and the sourish taste renders it peculiarly palatable during the heat of the mid-day hours. It is of easy digestion, and I always found it agree with me ; but if left to stand for a day it becomes ill tasted, for which reason it is made immediately before dinner or supper. Cakes of this kind, but still thinner, and formed of a paste left for two or three days to turn quite sour, are made for travelling provision. After being well toasted over the fire, they are left to dry thoroughly in the sun, they are then crumbled into small pieces and put into leather bags, called Abra. They thus keep for many months, and serve the traders upon occasions, when it is impossible to prepare a supper with fire. Some melted butter is poured over a few handfuls of this food, and appetite is seldom wanting to make it palatable. Sometimes the crumbs are soaked in water, and when the water has acquired a sourish taste it is drunk off ; this is called by the traders " the caravan beverage, Sharbet el Jellabe."—p. 219.

The whole of the road to Derr, on the east bank of the river, is perfectly safe, provided the traveller be accompanied by a native. The people were every where curious and inquisitive. From Assouan to Dehynt the granite chain of mountains had been uninterrupted ; from the latter place to the second cataract at Wady Halfa, the mountain next the river was sand-stone, with the exception of some granite rocks above Tafa, extending as far as Kalabshé. At Gyrshé, two days journey from Assouan, the plain between the river and the mountains is about a mile in width ; it is a poor village, and two-thirds of the cottages were abandoned in consequence of the oppressions of the Mamelouks in their flight from the Turks, and the arrival of the latter. The Mamelouks were driven to Dongola, where they still remain. After their expulsion from Nubia 'a terrible famine broke out, in which one-third of the population perished through absolute want ; the remainder retired into Egypt, and settled in the valleys below Assouan and Esné, where numbers of them were carried off by the small-pox.' A part of the inhabitants who had survived this dreadful malady had but just returned.

On the arrival of the Mamelouks at Argo, one of the principal places belonging to the king of Dongola, they were only able to muster about 300 effective men, and as many armed slaves, the  
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wretched remains of upwards of 4000, against whom Mohammed Aly commenced the contest for the possession of Egypt. The fate of the twelve hundred, who, with their chief, Shahin Beg, were treacherously slaughtered in the castle of Cairo, has more than once been described; but a similar massacre at Esné is but little known, and, as Mr. Burckhardt observes, the circumstances attending it furnish another proof of the infatuation which has always presided over the councils of the Mamelouks.

‘These fierce horsemen had sought refuge in the mountains inhabited by the Ababde and Bisharye Arabs, where all their horses died from want of food, and where even the richest Beks had been obliged to expend their last farthing, in order to feed their troops, provisions being sold to them by the Arabs at the most exorbitant prices. Thus cut off from all the comforts and luxuries of Egypt, to which they had been accustomed from their infancy, Ibrahim Beg thought it a propitious moment to ensnare them, as his father had done their brethren at Cairo. With this design, he sent them the most solemn promises of safe conduct, if they would descend from the mountain, and pledged himself that they should be all placed in situations under the government of Mohammed Aly, corresponding with the rank which each individual then held among themselves. It will hardly be believed that, well acquainted as they were with the massacre at Cairo in the preceding year, more than four hundred Mamelouks, headed by several Beks, accepted the delusive offer, and descended in small parties from the mountains. They were stripped in the way by faithless guides, so that, with the exception of about thirty, the whole reached the camp of Ibrahim Beg, then near Esné, in a state of nakedness. After the different parties had all joined, and it was ascertained that no others were ready to follow them, the signal of carnage was given, and the whole of them, with about two hundred black slaves, were unmercifully slaughtered in one night. Two French Mamelouks only were saved, through the interest of the physician of Ibrahim Beg. Similar instances of perfidy daily occur among the Turks; and it is matter of astonishment, that men should still be found stupid enough to allow themselves to be thus ensnared by them.’—p. 13.

At Korosko the shore widens, and a grove of date trees enlivens the banks of the Nile the whole way from hence to Ibrim. Groups of houses occur at every hundred yards; and as far as Derr, the fields are as carefully cultivated as in any part of Egypt. At Derr Mr. Burckhardt alighted, as all travellers do, at the house of Hassan Kashef, who inquired the object of his journey. Encouraged by the success of Messrs. Legh and Smelt, he replied that he had merely come on a tour of pleasure through Nubia, like the two gentlemen who had been at Derr before him; but his Turkish dress and manners and his perfect knowledge of Arabic created a suspi-  
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cion in the bystanders that he was practising deception. His present to the Kashef, though handsome under ordinary circumstances, when contrasted with that which he had just received from Mr. Legh, to the value of about 1,000 piastres, appeared very insignificant and 'un-English.'—'Besides,' said Hassan, 'this gentleman proceeded only as far as Ibrim; whereas you give me a few trifles, and wish to go even to the second cataract!'—Thus it is, that Englishmen in every part of the world spoil the market by their extravagant generosity. The Kashef, however, had a caravan just proceeding with merchandize to Egypt; and Burckhardt hinted, that if he sent him back to Esné, and the Beg was there informed of the little attention paid to his letter of recommendation, (which Burckhardt had presented to him,) he might be induced to levy a contribution on his merchandize. This became a matter of serious reflexion with the Kashef, who shortly after thus addressed our traveller: 'Whoever you may be, whether an Englishman, like the two other persons who passed here, or an agent of the pasha, I shall not send you back unsatisfied; you may proceed; but farther than Sukkot the road is not safe for you; and from thence therefore you will return.' Thus sanctioned, he proceeded to the southward, accompanied by a Bedouin guide.

As far as Derr, the eastern bank of the Nile is better adapted for cultivation than the western, being covered with the rich deposit of the river; whereas on the western side, the sands of the desert are impetuously swept to the very brink of the river by the north-west winds which prevail during the winter and spring seasons; and it is in those places only, where the sandy torrent is arrested by the mountains, that the narrow plain admits of cultivation: the eastern shore is in consequence much more populous than the western; though it is not a little singular that all the chief remains of antiquity are on the latter—'perhaps,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'the ancient Egyptians worshipped their bounteous deities more particularly in those places, where they had most to dread from the inimical deity Typhon, or the personified desert, who stands continually opposed to the beneficent Osiris, or the waters of the Nile.'

Not far from Derr our traveller noticed a temple of the most remote antiquity. It was hewn entirely out of the sand-stone rock with its pronaos, sekos or cella, and adyton; 'the gods of Egypt (he observes) seem to have been worshipped here long before they were lodged in the gigantic temples of Karnac and Gorne, which are, to all appearance, the most ancient temples in Egypt.'

The Bedouin who accompanied our traveller was of that branch of the Ababde, who pasture their cattle on the banks of the river and its islands from Derr to Dongola: they are very poor; mats



of the leaves of palm-trees form their tents: they do not permit their women to intermarry with the Nubians; and they have through ages preserved the purity of their race. 'They pride themselves, and justly,' (says our traveller,) 'in the beauty of their girls.' They are an honest and hospitable people, and of a more kindly disposition than any of the other tribes of Nubia. The inhabitants of a small island near the village Ketta are thus described.

'These people, who all speak Arabic as well as the Noubia language, are quite black, but have nothing of the Negro features. The men generally go naked, except a rag twisted round their middle; the women have a coarse shirt thrown about them. Both sexes suffer the hair of the head to grow; they cut it above the neck, and twist it all over in thin ringlets, in a way similar to that of the Arab of Souakin, whose portrait is given by Mr. Salt in Lord Valentia's Travels. Their hair is very thick, but not woolly; the men never comb it, but the women sometimes do; the latter wear on the back part of the head, ringlets, or a small ornament, made of mother of pearl and Venetian glass beads. Both men and women grease their head and neck with butter whenever they can afford it; this custom answers two purposes; it refreshes the skin heated by the sun, and keeps off vermin.'—p. 31.

The castle of Ibrîm and the inhabitants of its territory have an Aga who is independent of the governors of Nubia, with whom they are often at war. They are of white complexion as compared with the Nubians, and still retain the features of their ancestors, the Bosnian soldiers who were sent to garrison Ibrîm by Sultan Selym. 'In no part of the eastern world,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'have I ever found property in such perfect security as in Ibrîm. The inhabitants leave the dhourra in heaps on the field without a watch during the night; their cattle feed on the banks of the river without any one to tend them; and the best parts of their household furniture are left all night under the palm-trees around the dwelling.'—But he adds 'that the Nubians in general are free from the vice of pilfering;' and, what is more important, that 'travellers in Nubia have little to fear from the ill will of the peasants: it is the rapacious spirit of the governors that is to be dreaded.'

Near Wady Halfa is the second cataract of the Nile, whose noise was heard in the night at a considerable distance. This part of the river is described as very romantic: the banks, overgrown with large tamarisks, have a picturesque appearance amidst the black and green rocks, which, forming pools and lakes, expand the width of the river to more than two miles. Between this place and Sukkot the navigation is interrupted for about 100 miles by rapids, similar to that at Assouan: in some places, however, the river is tolerably free from rocks and islands; in these its bed is narrow,

narrow, and its banks are high; near Mershed, Mr. Burckhardt says, 'I could throw a stone over to the opposite side.'

At Wady Seras our traveller put up for the night, at a hut of Kerrarish Arabs, who were watching the produce of a few cotton fields, and bean plantations. They had not tasted bread for the last two months. Burckhardt made them a present of some dhourra, on condition of their letting the women (who are seldom permitted to enjoy this luxury) partake of it with them; the latter immediately set to work to grind it between two granite stones; 'and the girls sat up eating and singing the whole night.'

The rock, which as far as Wady Halfa had every where been sand-stone, changed at the second cataract into grunstein and grauacke. The mountain crossed by our traveller to the southward of Seras was of granite and quartz. The Arabs, who act as guides in these desolate mountains, have devised a singular mode of extorting presents from the traveller. They first beg a present; if refused, they collect a heap of sand, and placing a stone at each extremity of it, they apprize the traveller that his tomb is made. Before he got out of this mountainous district, Mr. Burckhardt had a practical proof of this custom: having refused to give any thing to one of these grave-diggers, the man set about making his sand-heap; upon this our traveller alighted and began another, observing, that 'as they were brethren, it was but just that they should be buried together.' The fellow laughed; and they mutually agreed to destroy each other's labours: on Burckhardt's remounting his horse, the disappointed Arab exclaimed from the Coran, 'No mortal knows the spot upon earth where his grave shall be digged.'

At Wady Okame, the dominions of the governor of Sukkot begin, and the country opens out on each side of the river. Having a letter of recommendation from Hassan Kashef to the governor of Sukkot, who resides at Kolbe, an island in the Nile, Mr. Burckhardt crossed over in a kind of ferry-boat called a *ramous*. It consists of the trunks of date-trees loosely tied together, and worked by a paddle about four feet in length, forked at the upper extremity, and lashed to the raft by ropes of straw. Its close resemblance to those represented on the walls of the Egyptian temples, shews that man; here at least, has not been an improving animal. 'This is not a country,' said the Governor, (who received him very coldly,) 'for people like you to travel in, without being accompanied by caravans.' He gave him, however, a letter to his son, then at Ferke. Here the whole neighbourhood was assembled to partake of a cow slaughtered in honour of a deceased relation of the chief. A present of a piece of soap procured his permission to proceed.

The district of Say begins at Aamara, on the plain of which

are the ruins of a fine Egyptian temple. The shafts of six large columns of calcareous stone remain, being the only specimen to met with of that material, those of Egypt being all of sandstone. Mr. Hamilton has observed, that 'the ancient Egyptians do not appear to have employed granite in any of their buildings in Upper Egypt, except in the obelisks and some few of their propyla.' The castle of Say is built of alternate layers of stone and brick, on an island of the Nile, and, like Ibrim and Assouan, has its own Aga, independent of the governors of Nubia; like these, too, its territories are inhabited by the descendants of Bosnian soldiers. Beyond Say, thick groves of date trees and numerous habitations crowded both banks of the river. 'The dates of Sukkot and Say are preferred to those of Ibrim, and are considered superior to all that grow on the banks of the Nile, from Sennaar down to Alexandria; they are of the largest kind, generally three inches in length.'

On the 13th March, Mr. Burckhardt reached the territory of Mahass, and passed several villages, the houses of which were constructed only of mats of palm-leaves. The castle of Tinareh had been seized by a rebel cousin of the king of Mahass, but having been besieged for several weeks by the two brothers Hosseyn and Mohammed Kashefs, it had capitulated the evening preceding his arrival. He visited the camp of the latter, the son, on the mother's side, of a Darfour slave, but without any of that mildness which generally characterizes the negro countenance.—'He rolled his eyes at me,' says our traveller, 'like a madman, and having drank copiously of palm-wine at the castle, he was so intoxicated that he could hardly keep on his legs.' Goat-skins of palm-wine were brought in, and in the course of half an hour, the whole camp was as drunk as their chief. Muskets succeeded; and a feu-de-joie was fired with ball in the hut where all were sitting. 'I must confess,' says Burckhardt, 'that at this moment I repented of having come to the camp.' At length, however, the whole party dropped asleep, and a few hours brought the kashef to his senses, so that he could talk rationally. Burckhardt's situation, however, was not much improved. He was suspected of being an agent of the Pasha of Egypt;—'But,' said the kashef's Arabic secretary, 'at Mahass we spit at Mohammed Aly's beard, and cut off the heads of those who are enemies to the Mamelouks'—a fate with which he was frequently threatened during the night; and which, had it not been for the arrival of the governor of Sukkot's nephew who confirmed his account of himself, would in all probability have been carried into execution.

'I was now,' says our traveller, 'without a friend or protector, in a country only two days and a half distant from the northern limits

limits of Dongola, the newly conquered kingdom of the Mamelouks, against whose interests I was suspected to be acting, while the governors of Mahass supported them.' Under these circumstances, he prudently determined to return; but the kashef abruptly ordered him to stay till next day. Burckhardt however expressed his anxiety to reach Derr as speedily as possible, and was dismissed with the usual mixture of insult and contempt. His intention was to cross over to the western side of the Nile, but there was no conveyance of any kind. This the more mortified him, as opposite to Soleb there was a fine village and the ruins of a temple, which appeared to have been of the size of the largest found in Egypt; besides, he had reason to believe it to be the most southern specimen of Egyptian architecture.

At the village of Kolbe, our traveller obtained a *ramous* for the baggage, and he and his guide swam the river at the tails of their camels, each beast having an inflated goat-skin tied to its neck. He now availed himself of the opportunity of examining, in his way down, the hitherto undiscovered temple of Ebsambul, whose front, sculptured and fashioned out of the living rock, and rising immediately from the bank of the river, is still in a state of complete preservation. In this front stand six colossal figures, representing juvenile persons; they are placed in narrow recesses, three on each side of the entrance; their height from the ground to the knee is about six feet and a half. The spaces of the smooth rock between the niches are covered with hieroglyphics; as are also the walls of the apartments. This temple Mr. Burckhardt thinks to have been the model of that at Derr, but much anterior to it in point of time, the style in which the sculptures are executed denoting a high antiquity. On the side of the mountain facing the north, against which there was a vast accumulation of sand, and at a distance of about 200 yards from the temple, the upper parts were discovered of four immense colossal statues cut out of the living rock, all the other parts being buried beneath the sands, which are drifted here in torrents from the desert. The head of one of these statues was yet above the surface; 'and,' says our author, 'it has a most expressive youthful countenance, approaching nearer to the Grecian model of beauty than that of any ancient Egyptian figure I have seen; indeed, were it not for a thin oblong beard, it might well pass for a head of Pallas.'—'This statue,' he adds, 'measures seven yards across the shoulders, and cannot therefore, if in an upright posture, be less than *sixty-five or seventy feet in height!* the ear is one yard and four inches in length.' Mr. Burckhardt conjectured, that if the sand could be cleared away, an immense temple would be discovered, to the entrance of which the four colossal figures served as ornaments, in the same manner as the six belonging to the neighbouring,

bouring temple of Isis; and he concluded, from a hawk-headed figure surmounted by a globe, in the centre of the four statues, that this buried temple had been dedicated to Osiris. It was this conjecture that induced Belzoni to undertake the bold enterprize of uncovering it as far down as the doorway, which he effected, with the able assistance and personal exertions of Captains Mangles and Irby, of the royal navy, whose names were unintentionally omitted in our former account. Mr. Burckhardt does not hesitate to pronounce the works of Ebsambul to belong to the finest period of Egyptian sculpture.

The account given by Belzoni and his associates of these extraordinary excavated temples, sculptured out of a whole mountain, induced Mr. Banks, whose name we have frequently had occasion to mention, to make a second visit, in company with Mr. Salt, to explore the sacred recesses more minutely. For the fatigue and expense of this enterprize, and the exertions of a month in removing the sand, and excavating the rubbish, &c. they were amply rewarded by many new and brilliant discoveries; among the first of which must be reckoned that of a Greek inscription on the leg of one of the colossal statues which guards the entrance, recording the visit of Psammeticus (spelt ΨΑΜΜΑΤΙΧΟΙ, in the dative, and written in very ancient letters) which, from appearances, it was judged must have been engraved when the temple was already encumbered with sand. This is probably the most ancient inscription that exists in any *intelligible* language, as Psammeticus died more than 600 years before Christ—more than 100 years before the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses the Persian—and nearly 200 years before the visit of Herodotus to that country. It is valuable as an additional corroboration of the truth and accuracy of the Father of Profane History, from whom we learn that this Psammeticus was one of the twelve princes who ruled Egypt; that by the assistance of some Ionians and Carians—‘men of brass’—he subdued his eleven associates, and became sole sovereign of the country; that in return for this service they had lands assigned to them, and that they taught the *Greek language* to the Egyptian youth; a circumstance which affords a satisfactory explanation of the existence of a Greek inscription at that early period. It is for those, if there be such, who affect to doubt or to deny the existence of Greek letters at this time, to prove the contrary; but without the knowledge of letters, it would be difficult to understand on what ground Herodotus could affirm, that ‘we certainly know all things that passed in Egypt since the reign of Psammeticus to our time;’ or how Pisistratus in less than a century afterwards could have collected at Athens a large library.

This inscription is valuable in another point of view, as it may assist,

assist, with the corresponding hieroglyphics, to decypher those mysterious characters: and it is peculiarly valuable as an undoubted specimen of the advanced state of the arts among the ancient Egyptians; for the temple of Ebsambul\* is said to contain the finest examples of sculpture, of painting, and of design, now existing either in Nubia or in Egypt. By a new and ingenious contrivance for giving light within the temple, Mr. Banks has made out the complete historical design on the wall of one of the chambers, in which, besides the usual delineations of fortresses, war-chariots, &c. he observed three horsemen mounted without saddles, but with regular bridles.

But Mr. Banks's discoveries are not confined to Ebsambul. He has examined, and re-examined, every ruin between it and Thebes; and the result of his discoveries and those of Mr. Salt has fully established the value and importance of the Greek and Latin inscriptions, (as suggested and exemplified in Mr. Hamilton's excellent work on Egypt,) in ascertaining the dates of many of the temples, and in discriminating those built by the Greeks and Romans from those of the ancient Egyptians. Thus at Philæ, besides the discovery of three new chambers in the great temple, an inscription of the time of Ptolemy and Arsinoë, on an altar which has been built into the lower part of the wall of the long colonnade next the river, as a part of the materials, proves unquestionably the whole building to be posterior to that reign, and probably to the Ptolemean dynasty. In the same temple were discovered, under the painted plaster, several Greek inscriptions relating to Ptolemy Philopater; and one of them, that had been hid by the plaster, to the Cæsars; thus affording undoubted proofs that the paintings, the colours of which were as vivid as those in the Egyptian chambers, are of a later date than the building of the temple. The sculpture on the first propylon of the great temple was of a more ancient date, but our travellers had sufficient proof that the engraving on the wings or side moles was subsequent to the time of Tiberius. From the other inscriptions copied by Mr. Hamilton, it is obvious that the Greeks had added much to the ancient Egyptian temple of Philæ, and particularly a small peripteral temple, which from the volutes in the capitals, and the elegance and lightness of the design, leave no doubt of its Grecian origin—'For,' as this gentleman observes, 'if its date must be referred to the ages anterior to Grecian civilization, it must be confessed that, after they had seen and

\* Mr. Burckhardt observes, that the termination of the word Ebsambul sounds like Greek—*bul*—*balli*—*polis*. Might not the man who built so many cities in Egypt, or those Greeks to whom he afforded his protection, have caused one bearing his own name, *Psammopolis*, to be erected near this celebrated temple?

studied it, the Greeks had little to add, in order to produce the finest models of architecture.'

We have another proof of the labours of the Ptolemies in preserving and adding to the ancient temples of Egypt. The following inscription, on a plate of gold, was recently found over one of the side columns of the gateway of the great temple at Canopus, carefully placed between two pieces of very curiously coloured pottery.

ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ . ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ . ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ . ΚΑΙ  
ΑΡCΙΝΟΗΣ . ΘΕΩΝ . ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ . ΚΑΙ . ΒΑΣΙΛΙCΣΑ  
ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗ . Η . ΑΔΕΛΦΗ . ΚΑΙ . ΓΥΝΗ . ΑΥΤΟΥ  
ΤΟ . ΤΕΜΕΝΟC . ΟCΙΠΕΙ

'King Ptolemy (son of Ptolemy and Arsinoe, adelpic Gods) and Queen Berenice, his Sister and Wife, [*have dedicated*] this Temple to Osiris.'

The discovery of many other Greek inscriptions, with corresponding ones in those mysterious characters known by the name of hieroglyphics, may prove of infinite use to Dr. Young in his laudable and persevering efforts to decypher them; and it must afford him high gratification to know that, on the temple of Dakke in Nubia, Greek inscriptions of the Ptolemies have been discovered over the principal entrance, on each side of which is a tablet of identical hieroglyphics, and each nearly of the same length as the inscription on the Greek tablet. The meaning of the two languages was therefore considered by Mr. Salt to be identical; and on referring to Dr. Young's explanations, the two travellers were gratified to find that the hieroglyphics of the 'immortal Ptolemy,' in an oval, the same as that of Dr. Young, appeared on each tablet, and were immediately followed by those of Hermes on one side, and of Isis on the other, to whom all the Greek inscriptions declare the temple to be dedicated. In several other parts of the temple was the name of Ptolemy, inscribed over figures in the act of making offerings, but without the epithet 'immortal,' besides those hieroglyphics which Dr. Young has assigned to the names of Osiris, Isis and Horus, as well as Hermes, each over its respective figure, and every where throughout the numerous representations on the walls. At the little temple also near Esnè, Mr. Bankes had satisfactory proofs that the sculpture and hieroglyphics were executed in the reign of Antonine, and dedicated by persons whose names were Grecian.

These discoveries prove beyond a doubt, what Mr. Hamilton indeed had satisfactorily shewn, that, after the conquest of the country by Alexander, the native Egyptians and the naturalized Greeks had no scruple to meet in the same sanctuary to perform the



the ceremonies of their respective superstitions; and that the Greek inscriptions by the side of hieroglyphics establish the correctness of Diodorus Siculus and other Greek writers in asserting, that many rich and magnificent temples were built by the Ptolemies in Egypt; and that the number of temples before their dynasty was by no means so great as are the ruins existing at the present day. This union of the two languages leaves little doubt that the hieroglyphics continued to be used, and were understood, in the Ptolemaic dynasty; and affords a hope that other monuments, similar to that of the Rosetta stone, may yet be discovered among the ruins of the temples, to assist Dr. Young in the arduous task of unfolding those mysterious characters.

The mixture of Greek edifices with those of the ancient Egyptians is no disparagement to the merit and genius of the artist who could conceive and execute such gigantic works as Carnac, Luxor, Dendera and Ebsambul, which are confessedly Egyptian, and superior in every point of view, and far more sublime than any of those which have risen out of their ruins.—We return to Mr. Burckhardt.

Opposite to Derr our traveller fell in with Hassan Kashef, who told him that he had no business in Mahass, and seemed surprised that his brothers had suffered him to proceed thither. Here he witnessed one of those wanton acts of despotism which are but too common in the east.

‘In walking over a large field, with about thirty attendants and slaves, Hassan told the owner that he had done wrong in sowing the field with barley, as water-melons would have grown better. He then took some melon seed out of his pocket, and giving it to the man, said, “you had better tear up the barley and sow this.” As the barley was nearly ripe, the man of course excused himself from complying with the Kashef’s command: “Then I will sow them for you,” said the latter; and ordered his people immediately to tear up the crop, and lay out the field for the reception of the melon seed. The boat was then loaded with the barley, and a family thus reduced to misery, in order that the governor might feed his horses and camels for three days on the barley stalks.’—p. 94.

None of the numerous temples nor of their inscriptions escaped Mr. Burckhardt’s notice, on his return by the western bank of the Nile. Those of Dakke, Gyrshe, Dondour, Kalabshe, Tafa, Kardassy, Debot, are all particularly described, and the comparative excellence of each characterized; this, however, we must pass over, as well as his judicious observations on those interesting remains of ancient days. The natives regard them with perfect indifference, and are only attracted by the prevalent idea of Europeans examining them for no other purpose than that of discovering hidden

hidden treasures. With this view the Shikh of Gyrshé followed our traveller, with great haste, into the temple at that place, to lay claim to one half of the gold which he had found, or at least to get a handful of it. He assured Mr. Burckhardt, that the two Englishmen (Legh and Smelt) had found an immense treasure, with which they had loaded their vessel, for one of the peasants had actually seen the gold.

The mounds of rubbish and fragments of pottery which were observed at El Meharraka, and which occur in various parts of Egypt, suggest the following explanation, which we believe to be new.

‘Several travellers have expressed their astonishment at the immense heaps of rubbish consisting chiefly of pottery which are met with on the sites of ancient Egyptian towns; and, if we are to attribute their formation to the accumulation of the fragments of earthen vessels used by the inhabitants for domestic purposes, they are indeed truly surprising; but I ascribe their origin to another cause. In Upper Egypt, the walls of the peasants houses are very frequently constructed in part of jars placed one over the other, and cemented together with mud; in walls of inclosures, or in such as require only a slight roof, the upper part is very generally formed of the same materials; in the parapets also of the flat-roofed houses a double or triple row of red pots, one over the other, usually runs round the terrace, to conceal the females of the family when walking upon it. Pots are preferred to brick, because the walls formed of them are lighter, more quickly built, and have a neater appearance. They possess, likewise, another advantage, which is, that they cannot be pierced at night by robbers, without occasioning noise, by the pots falling down, and thus awakening the inmates of the dwelling, while bricks can be removed silently, one by one, as is often done by nightly depredators, who break into the houses in this manner. If then we suppose that pot walls were in common use by the ancient inhabitants, the large mounds of broken pottery may be satisfactorily accounted for. As for stone, it seems to have been as little used for the private habitations of the ancient Egyptians, as it is at the present day.—p. 102.

On the evening of the 30th March, after a hazardous journey of thirty-five days, in which he had rested only one day, Mr. Burckhardt returned to Assouan, having travelled generally at the rate of ten hours a day. What follows is not the least remarkable feature of his enterprize; ‘I put,’ says he, ‘eight Spanish dollars into my purse, in conformity with the principle I have constantly acted upon, namely, that the less the traveller spends while on his march, and the less money he carries with him, the less likely are his travelling projects to miscarry; and I returned,’ he adds, ‘after a journey of nine hundred miles, with three dollars,

lars, having spent about five dollars, including every expense, except the present to Hassan Kashef.'

We have briefly dispatched what may be called the personal narrative of this most interesting expedition, to enable us to give a more ample summary of the observations made by our author, on the country and its several inhabitants.

Nubia is divided into two parts, called the Wady Kenous, and the Wady Nouba; the former extending from Assouan to Wady Leboua, and the latter from thence to the frontier of Dongola. The inhabitants of these two divisions are separated by language, but in manners they appear to be nearly the same. The Kenous Arabs derive their origin from the deserts of Nedjed, and, according to their own tradition, settled in those regions at the period when the great Bedouin tribes from the east spread over Egypt. They adopted the language of the natives, which has no Arabic sounds whatever, and which has penetrated into Upper Egypt, as far as Edfou. 'It is a fact,' says our author, 'worthy of notice, that two foreign languages should have subsisted so long to the almost entire exclusion of the Arabic, in a country bordered on one side by Dongola, and on the other by Egypt, in both of which Arabic is exclusively spoken.'

Availing himself of the quarrels of the various tribes of Arabs which settled in Nubia, Sultan Selym sent a number of Bosnian soldiers, who built or repaired the three castles of Assouan, Ibrim, and Say. The descendants of these soldiers continue to enjoy an immunity from all taxes and contributions. The Nubians call them *Osmanli*, (Turks.) Their skin is a light brown, while that of the Nubians is nearly black. The chiefs in power at present are the three brothers Hosseyn, Hassan, and Mahommed, whom we have had occasion to mention. Instead of the *miri* (or land tax), they pay each to the pasha an annual tribute of about 120*l.* and extort from their Nubian subjects and the caravans, about 3000*l.* each, of which they do not spend a tenth part. Their wealth consists in dollars and slaves.

The revenue of Nubia is principally derived from the *sakies*, or waterwheels, used for irrigation; the number of which between Assouan and Wady Halfa (or between the first and second cataract) is estimated from six to seven hundred; for each wheel, so many fat sheep, and so many measures of *dhourra* are levied; and from every date tree are taken two clusters of fruit, whatever quantity it may bear. But the whole system is arbitrary and irregular; poor villages are frequently ruined, while the richer ones are spared, lest the inhabitants should be driven to acts of open resistance. The three kashefs are also the judges; and the administration of justice is an article of merchandize.

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If a Nubian kill another of his tribe, the debt of blood must be paid to the family of the deceased, and a fine to the kashef of six camels, a cow, and seven sheep; but if a Nubian be killed by one of the kashef's tribe, no debt of blood is exacted, but the chief demands his fine. The Kenous and the Noubas are almost perpetually engaged in disputes and sanguinary quarrels; and when death ensues, the family of the deceased has the option of receiving a stipulated sum, or claiming the right of retaliation: in the latter case, the brother, son, or first cousin only can supply the place of the murderer, which frequently causes the whole family to fly the country.

If a wealthy Nubian happens to have a daughter, the kashef generally demands her in marriage; the father is afraid to refuse, but he seldom escapes ruin by his powerful son-in-law, who extorts from him every article of his property under the name of presents to his own child. 'Thus,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'are the governors married to females in almost every considerable village. Hosseyn Kashef has above forty sons, of whom twenty are married in this manner.'

The Nile, from the first cataract to the frontiers of Dongola, never overflows its banks. The fields are therefore watered entirely by the *sakies*. The grain chiefly sown is dhourra, after which they have a crop of barley, of French beans, lentils, and sometimes water-melons. Tobacco is every where cultivated; it is the chief luxury of all classes, who either smoke it, or mix it with nitre and suck it between the lower gums and the lip. Animal food is scarce; even the kashefs do not indulge in eating it every day. In the larger villages palm wine is the common beverage; it is made from ripe dates, well boiled in water, strained, put into earthen jars, and buried in the ground till it has fermented; this liquor will keep sweet, when properly prepared, a whole year. A spirit is also distilled from dates; and there is another liquor made from dhourra, or barley, which they call *bouza*, and which resembles beer—the *zythum*, probably, of the ancient Egyptians. All these are sold in shops, and particularly at Derr, where the more wealthy classes get intoxicated with them every evening. A jelly, or kind of honey, is also extracted from the date, which serves as a sweetmeat. Except palms and a few vines which Burckhardt saw at Derr, no fruit-trees are to be found in Nubia, though almost every species of fruit might be cultivated there.

The houses of the Nubians are either of mud or loose stones; those of stone are generally in pairs, one for the males and the other for the females. The mud huts are covered with the stems of dhourra, till consumed by the cattle, when they are replaced by palm leaves.

leaves. The utensils of a Nubian family consist of about half a dozen coarse earthen jars, from one to two feet in diameter, and five feet in height, in which the provisions of the family are kept; a few earthen plates; a hand-mill, or two separate stones; a hatchet, and a few round sticks, over which the loom is laid. A woollen cloak, and a linen cap, with a few rags to give it the appearance of a turban, constitute the dress of the better class; boys and girls run about naked; the women wrap themselves up in black woollen gowns; and let their hair fall in ringlets. South of Derr, and particularly at Sukkot and in Mahass, grown up people go quite naked, excepting that the men wear a belt with a small sack before; and in the right ear a ring of silver or copper.

The Nubians are generally well made, strong and muscular, with fine features. Mr. Burckhardt says, that 'in passing along the Wadys of Nubia, it often occurred to him to remark, that the size and figures of the inhabitants were generally proportioned to the breadth of their cultivable soil.' This is curious, and we doubt not perfectly correct. The women of this country are not handsome; but they are perfectly well made, and possess in general sweet countenances and pleasing manners. They are, besides, modest and reserved; and, from the highest to the lowest, strictly observant of their conjugal duties. At home they are usually employed in weaving coarse woollen mantles, and cotton cloth for shirts; they also weave mats of the date leaves, small drinking bowls, and plates to serve up the dhourra bread; all made by the hand, and in the neatest manner. The girls are fond of singing, and the Nubian airs are very melodious.

The Nubians seldom go unarmed; the first purchase a boy makes is generally a short crooked knife, which is tied over the left elbow, under their shirt, and drawn on the slightest quarrel. The men usually carry a lance, and target, made by the Skeygya Arabs of the hide of the hippopotamus, which is proof against the thrust of a spear, or the blow of a sabre. Fire-arms are not common; some have match-locks; but ammunition is scarce and highly valued. The nephew of Mohammed Kashef ran after Burckhardt two miles, to obtain a single cartridge, saying that he had shot off the only one he had, during the rejoicings of the preceding day.

The climate of Nubia, though intensely hot in summer, is remarkably healthy, probably on account of the extreme aridity of the atmosphere. The small-pox, however, makes occasionally dreadful havock among them, and the vaccine, though once introduced, has been unfortunately lost. The plague never prevailed in Nubia so high as the second cataract, and is entirely unknown  
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in Dongola, and along the whole route to Sennaar. Though numbers of Nubians repair to Cairo, where they act as porters, and are esteemed for their honesty, they always return to their native village with the little property which they may have realized in a servitude of six or eight years, without importing either the diseases or the vices of the Egyptians; and well knowing that the only luxuries they can there expect, in exchange for those of Cairo, are dhourra bread and a linen shirt.

The sketch which we have given offers no very favourable picture of the state of Nubian society; and we shall find it still worse in advancing, with our author, on his second journey to the southward. As no caravan for Eastern Africa set out in the year after his return, Mr. Burckhardt remained quiet at Esnè; he kept no company, dressed himself in the poorest garb of an inhabitant of Egypt; and, in order to conceal his real character more effectually, spent as little money as possible, the amount of his daily expenses, of his servant, dromedary, and ass, being about eighteen-pence, and that of his horse sixteen-pence a month. Yet with all these precautions he was not free from the suspicion of possessing some hidden treasure. In Egypt there is no such condition in life as that of a man living on his income without employment. If he neither follows any business, nor wanders about begging, he is sure to become an object of suspicion. Here, however, he remained, till the end of February, when a caravan being on the point of starting from Daraou, (three days journey to the northward of Esnè,) for the confines of Sennaar, he determined to accompany it, and to try his fortune in this new route unattended by any servant. At Daraou, therefore, he appeared in the garb of a poor trader. It may be useful to the future traveller to know the contents of his baggage and of his provisions; they were as follows.

‘ I was dressed in a brown loose woollen cloak, such as is worn by the peasants of Upper Egypt, called *thabout*, with a coarse white linen shirt and trowsers, a *lebde*, or white woollen cap, tied round with a common handkerchief, as a turban, and with sandals on my feet. I carried in the pocket of my *thabout* a small journal-book, a pencil, pocket-compass, pen-knife, tobacco-purse, and a steel for striking a light. The provisions I took with me were as follows: forty pounds of flour, twenty of biscuit, fifteen of dates, ten of lentils, six of butter, five of salt, three of rice, two of coffee beans, four of tobacco, one of pepper, some onions, and eighty pounds of dhourra for my ass. Besides these I had a copper boiler, a copper plate, a coffee roaster, an earthen mortar to pound the coffee beans, two coffee cups, a knife and spoon, a wooden bowl for drinking and for filling the water-skins, an axe, ten yards of rope, needles and thread, a large packing needle, one spare shirt, a comb, a coarse carpet, a woollen cloth (*heram*) of Mogrebin manufactory

tory for a night covering, a small parcel of medicines, and three spare water-skins.—p. 167.

Thus equipped, and with a little merchandize to save appearances, our traveller set out on the 2d March, 1814, with the caravan for the south, preceded by all the women and children of the village, who burnt salt before them as a certain means of keeping away the devil from the party. He had been very kind to the host with whom he lodged at Daraou; this man, at parting, recommended him to his brother, son, and other relations, who formed the largest and most wealthy portion of the caravan: 'he is your brother,' said the old man to his son, 'and there,' opening his waistcoat, and putting his hand upon his bosom, 'there let him be placed.' 'This ceremony,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'has some meaning in the Arabian desert, but among these miscreants of Egyptians it is mere hypocrisy;' and so it proved, for the whole of this party behaved to him in the most brutal manner.

Our limits will not permit us to trace the route pursued by the caravan. It was on the eastern side of the Nile, but at a great distance from it, being the chord of that great bend of the river to the westward in which Dongola is situated, and the extremities of which are not far removed from Assouan on the north and Berber on the south: it is, in fact, the precise route which was taken by Bruce on his return from Abyssinia. It lies over a perfect desert, except where those numerous wadys, or valleys, in the ridge of mountains on the left, open upon the plain, and in which alone trees, shrubs and grass are to be found for the cattle of the caravans, and wells or rills of fresh water. The scarcity of this article is sometimes severely felt; but when calamitous accidents occur, as they occasionally do, Mr. Burckhardt seems to think they happen either from taking circuitous routes, or neglecting to fill an adequate number of water-skins. The extraordinary sufferings of Mr. Bruce in this desert he conceives to be greatly exaggerated in the relation; at the same time he adds, 'I cannot but sincerely admire the wonderful knowledge of men, firmness of character, and promptitude of mind which furnished Bruce with the means of making his way through these savage, and inhospitable nations, as an European. To travel as a native has its inconveniences and difficulties; but I take those which Bruce encountered to be of a nature much more intricate and serious, and such as a mind at once courageous, patient and fertile in expedients could alone have surmounted.'—p. 203.

We believe the character of Bruce's journal may be summed up in very few words: his descriptions are exaggerated; much of his narrative, especially that of the dramatic cast, is loosely given from memory; and his adventures are embellished for effect—in  
a word



a word, he is in general *substantially* true, but often *circumstantially* false. We have a striking instance of this in his description of the terrible and fatal effects of the Simoom, 'that poisonous blast of the desert,' which, in point of fact, has nothing poisonous in it. Mr. Burckhardt, who experienced the wind here, and still more severely in the deserts of Arabia, says, 'I never saw any person lie down flat upon his face to escape its pernicious blast, as Bruce describes himself to have done in crossing this desert; but, during the whirlwinds, the Arabs often hide their faces with their cloaks, and kneel down near their camels to prevent the sand or dust from hurting their eyes.' 'for my own part,' he adds, 'I am perfectly convinced that all the stories which travellers or the inhabitants of the towns of Egypt and Syria relate of the simoom of the desert, are greatly exaggerated, and I never could hear of a single well authenticated instance of its having proved mortal either to man or beast.' The simoom, in fact, is nothing more than the harmatan of the eastern coast of Africa, (which, so far from being pernicious, is considered to be salutary); the sirocco of Naples, the south-easter of the Cape of Good Hope, and our own hazy easterly wind of summer.

The sufferings experienced by Mr. Burckhardt in crossing this desert consisted chiefly in the fatigue of travelling, the labour of doing every thing for himself, and the scantiness and poverty of his fare. 'From the first day of our departure from Daraou,' he says, 'my companions had treated me with neglect, and even contempt.' They thought him a Turk, and all Arabs bear the most inveterate hatred to the Osmanlis; and from the small quantity of his merchandize they considered him as a man running away from his creditors. But he succeeded in convincing some of them that he was travelling in search of a lost cousin, who had gone some years before on a mercantile expedition to Darfour and Sennaar, in which his whole property had been engaged.

'When (says Burckhardt) in addition to other motives for ill-treating me, the traders saw in me every appearance of a poor man, that I cut wood, and cooked for myself, and filled my own water-skins, they thought me hardly upon an equality with the servants who are hired by the merchants, at the rate of ten dollars for the journey from Daraou to Guz, or Shendy, and back again. I had always endeavoured to keep upon good terms with the family of Alowein, who were the principal Fellah merchants, and whose good offices I thought might be useful to me in the black countries; but when they saw that I was so poor that they could have but little hopes of obtaining much from me in presents, they soon forgot what I had already given them before we set out, and no longer observed the least civility in their behaviour towards me. They began by using opprobrious language in speaking of Hassan Beg, of Esné, observing that, now we were in the desert, they cared little for  
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all the Begg and Pashas in the world ; seeing that this did not seriously affect me, they began to address me in the most vulgar and contemptuous language, never calling me any thing better than Weled, " boy." Though they became every day more insulting, I restrained my anger, and never proceeded to that retaliation to which they evidently wished to provoke me, in order to have sufficient reasons for coming to blows with me. In the beginning of the journey I had joined the party of the Alowein in our evening encampment, although I always cooked by myself ; I was soon, however, driven away from them, and obliged to remain alone, the people of Daraou giving out that several things had been purloined from their baggage, and that they suspected me of having taken them. Not to enter into any further details, it is sufficient to say, that not an hour passed without my receiving some insult, even from the meanest servants of these people, who very soon imitated and surpassed their masters.'—pp. 179, 180.

Every day, on halting, he was driven from the cool and comfortable shade of the trees or rocks, into the burning sun ; he had to prepare his own dinner—not one of the poorest slaves condescending to assist him, though he offered them a share of his homely meal. In the evening the same labour recurred ; after he had walked four or five hours in order to spare his ass—fatigued as he was, and in the utmost need of repose, he was obliged to fetch wood, to make a fire, to cook his victuals, and to feed his beast. Without a friend, a companion, or even a servant, in the midst of this dreary desert, and with a set of men into whose hearts one spark of feeling or compassion for a fellow-creature never entered, it is not surprising that a melancholy reflexion should now and then obtrude itself on his mind : but he deals not in the language of complaint.

Twice the serab or mirage appeared to them in crossing this desert, but somewhat different from what had been observed in Egypt.

' Its colour was of the purest azure, and so clear that the shadows of the mountains which bordered the horizon were reflected on it with the greatest precision, and the delusion of its being a sheet of water was thus rendered still more perfect. I had often seen the mirage in Syria and Egypt, but always found it of a whitish colour, rather resembling a morning mist, seldom lying steady on the plain, but in continual vibration ; but here it was very different, and had the most perfect resemblance to water. The great dryness of the air and earth in this desert may be the cause of the difference. The appearance of water approached also much nearer than in Syria and Egypt, being often not more than two hundred paces from us, whereas I had never seen it before at a distance of less than half a mile. There were at one time about a dozen of these false lakes round us, each separated from the other, and for the most part in the low grounds.'—p. 193.

Though the present caravan was not exposed to much inconvenience for want of water, yet it sometimes happens that very distressing

trespassing accidents occur, as had been the case with a small party the preceding year. To avoid a notorious robber, their Arab guide, in taking them an unfrequented path, lost his way. What follows is highly curious and interesting.

'After five days march in the mountains, their stock of water was exhausted, nor did they know where they were. They resolved therefore to direct their course towards the setting sun, hoping thus to reach the Nile. After two days thirst, fifteen slaves and one of the merchants died. Another of them, an Ababde, who had ten camels with him, thinking that the camels might know better than their masters where water was to be found, desired his comrades to tie him fast upon the saddle of his strongest camel, that he might not fall down from weakness; and thus he parted from them, permitting his camels to take their own way: but neither the man nor his camels were ever heard of afterwards. On the eighth day after leaving Owareyk, the survivors came in sight of the mountains of Shigre, which they immediately recognized, but their strength was quite exhausted, and neither men nor beasts were able to move any farther. Lying down under a rock, they sent two of their servants with the two strongest remaining camels, in search of water. Before these two men could reach the mountain, one of them dropped off his camel, deprived of speech, and able only to wave his hands to his comrade as a signal that he desired to be left to his fate. The survivor then continued his route, but such was the effect of thirst upon him, that his eyes grew dim and he lost the road, though he had often travelled over it before, and had been perfectly acquainted with it. Having wandered about for a long time, he alighted under the shade of a tree, and tied the camel to one of its branches; the beast however smelt the water, (as the Arabs express it,) and wearied as it was, broke its halter, and set off galloping furiously in the direction of the spring, which, as it afterwards appeared, was at half an hour's distance. The man, well understanding the camel's action, endeavoured to follow its footsteps, but could only move a few yards; he fell exhausted on the ground, and was about to breathe his last, when Providence led that way from a neighbouring encampment a Bisharye Bedouin, who by throwing water upon the man's face restored him to his senses. They then went hastily together to the water, filled the skins, and returning to the caravan, had the good fortune to find the sufferers still alive. The Bisharye received a slave for his trouble. My informer, a native of Yembo in Arabia, was the man whose camel discovered the spring, and he added the remarkable circumstance that the youngest slaves bore the thirst better than the rest, and that while the grown up boys all died, the children reached Egypt in safety.—pp. 201, 202.

On the 23d March, the caravan arrived at Berber, having taken twenty-two days in crossing the desert from Daraou to that place. Here the Mek first extracted three dollars from Mr. Burckhardt, and having afterwards learned that he had a little reserve in his girdle, obliged him to produce a fourth. 'I calculate,' says our traveller,

traveller, 'his yearly income from the caravans, at about three or four hundred Spanish dollars; he spends this sum in keeping a large establishment of male and female slaves, of horses, and fine dromedaries, and in feeding about fifty people belonging to his establishment, as well as strangers.'

The Wady of Berber consists of four villages situated on the Sandy Desert, about half an hour's walk from the Nile. Each is composed of several quarters, independent of one another; the houses are also separated by court-yards, so that there are no regular streets. They are built of mud, or sun-baked bricks. The rooms all open into the court-yard; two of them are usually occupied by the family, a third serves as a store-room, a fourth for the reception of strangers, and a fifth for less laudable purposes. An oblong frame of wood with four legs, with a seat of thin stripes of ox-leather drawn across, is the principal article of furniture; this is called *angareyg*, and answers the double purpose of a sofa by day and a bed by night. Mats of reeds or carpets of leather, without any pillow, are their only bedding.

It speaks not very favourably for the inhabitants of Berber, that, in the houses of the most respectable of them, there is generally a room (as we have just seen) set apart for public women. 'In the house where I lodged,' says Mr. Burckhardt, 'we had four of these girls, one of whom was living within the precincts, the three others in contiguous apartments. They are female slaves, whom their masters, upon marrying, or being tired of them, have set at liberty, and who have no other livelihood but prostitution, and the preparation of the intoxicating drink called Bouza.'

'The night of our arrival at Berber, after we had supped, and that the neighbours who had come to greet us had retired, three or four of these damsels made their appearance, and were saluted with loud shouts by my companions, who were all their old acquaintance. Some Angareygs were brought into the open court-yard, which the principal people of our party having taken possession of, the women proceeded to give them "the welcome," as they call it. The men having undressed to their loins, and stretched themselves at full length upon the Angareygs, were rubbed by the women with a kind of perfumed grease, much in the same manner as is used after coming out of the bath. This operation lasted for about half an hour, but the parties remained together for the whole night, without being in the least annoyed by the neighbourhood of those who were lying about in the court-yard. During the whole of our stay at Berber we had these damsels almost every evening at our quarters. They prepare, as I have already stated, the Bouza, and as it is difficult for any person to indulge in the drinking of this liquor in his own house, where he would be immediately surrounded by a great number of acquaintance, it is generally thought preferable to go to the women's apartment, where there is no intrusion.

Many of these women are Abyssinians by birth, but the greater part of them are born at Berber of slave parents. They are in general handsome, and many of them might even pass for beauties in any country.' —pp. 214, 215.

The following is a yet more dreadful picture of the immoral character of the Berbers.

'The effects which the universal practice of drunkenness and debauchery has on the morals of the people may easily be conceived. Indeed every thing discreditable to humanity is found in their character, but treachery and avarice predominate over their other bad qualities. In the pursuit of gain they know no bounds, forgetting every divine and human law, and breaking the most solemn ties and engagements. Cheating, thieving, and the blackest ingratitude, are found in almost every man's character, and I am perfectly convinced that there were few men among them or among my fellow-travellers from Egypt who would have given a dollar to save a man's life, or who would not have consented to a man's death in order to gain one. Especial care must be taken not to be misled by their polite protestations, and fine professions, especially when they come to Egypt; where they represent their own country as a land inhabited by a race of superior virtue and excellence. On the contrary, infamous as the eastern nations are in general, I have never met with so bad a people, excepting perhaps those of Suakin. In transactions among themselves the Meyrefab regulate every matter in dispute by the laws of the strongest. Nothing is safe when once out of the owner's hands, for if he happens to be the weaker party, he is sure of losing his property. The Mek's authority is slighted by the wealthier inhabitants; the strength of whose connections counterbalances the influence of the chief. Hence it may well be supposed that family feuds very frequently occur, and the more so, as the effects of drunkenness are dreadful upon these people. During the fortnight I remained at Berber, I heard of half a dozen quarrels occurring in drinking parties, all of which finished in knife or sword wounds. Nobody goes to a Bouza hut without taking his sword with him; and the girls are often the first sufferers in the affray. I was told of a distant relation of the present chief, who was for several years the dread of Berber. He killed many people with his own hands upon the slightest provocation, and his strength was such, that nobody dared to meet him in the open field. He was at last taken by surprise in the house of a public woman, and slain while he was drunk. He once stripped a whole caravan, coming from Daraou, and appropriated the plunder to his women. In such a country, it is of course locked upon as very imprudent to walk out unarmed, after sunset; examples often happen of persons, more particularly traders, being stripped or robbed at night in the village itself. In every country the general topics of conversation furnish a tolerable criterion of the state of society; and that which passed at our house at Ankheyre gave the most hateful idea of the character of these people. The house was generally filled with young men who took a pride in confessing the perpetration of every kind of infamy.

famy. One of their favourite tricks is to bully unexperienced strangers, by enticing them to women who are the next day owned as relations by some Meyrefab, who vows vengeance for the dishonour offered to his family; the affair is then settled by large presents, in which all those concerned have a share. The envoy whom Ibrahim Pasha sent in 1812 to the king of Sennaar was made to suffer from a plot of this kind. Upon his return from Sennaar to Berber, he was introduced one evening to a female, at whose quarters he passed the night. The Mek of Berber himself claimed her the next morning as his distant relation. "Thou hast corrupted my own blood," said he to the envoy, and the frightened Turk paid him upwards of six hundred dollars, besides giving up to him the best articles of his arms and baggage. I had repeated invitations to go in the evening to Bouza parties, but constantly refused. Indeed a stranger, and especially an unprotected one, as I was, must measure all his steps with caution, and cannot be too prudent.—pp. 221, 222.

The Berbers live chiefly on dhourra bread and milk; dates are imported from Mahass and are consequently accounted a luxury. Onions and kidney-beans are their chief vegetables; they have no fruit whatever. Their cattle, which are of a good kind, are pastured after the rains in the Bisharein mountains between the Nile and the Red Sea; in the dry season they are fed with the leaves and stalks of the dhourra. The cows have the hump between the shoulders common to those of Sennaar and Abyssinia. Their camels are excellent, and Mr. Burckhardt says, 'that their dromedaries surpass all that he saw in the Syrian and Arabian deserts.' Their asses are strong and handsome. Their horses are of the Dongola breed, which are represented as the finest race in the world. In the spring they are pastured on green barley; but for the rest of the year have little else than the stalks and leaves of the dhourra.

Part of the caravan, and with it Mr. Burckhardt, left Berber on the 7th April, and proceeded towards Shendy. They soon reached Ras al Wady, the principal village in the dominions of another Mek of the name of Hanoze. This sublime personage detained them from morning till late in the evening, without sending them any food, and they could not venture to taste their own, as they were now considered as his guests. The Mek himself kept out of sight, but his son came to the caravan to beg some presents. The great man made his appearance, however, the following day, quite naked, with the exception of a towel round his loins, and attended by six or eight slaves, one of whom carried his water-flask, another his sword, and a third his shield. Seeing a fine ass, he ordered his hopeful son to mount it; and notwithstanding the resistance of its owner, the animal was trotted off to the Mek's stable: the caravan was then permitted to depart.

At the end of four hours travelling, they reached the river

Mogren, (not *Mareb*, as Bruce calls it,) the bed of which was nearly dry; but the banks, being covered with fresh herbage and tamarisk bushes, afforded a delightful prospect after the passage of a long and dreary desert. They soon reached the district of Damer, the character of whose inhabitants is just the reverse of that of the Berbers. The town of Damer contains about five hundred houses, all neat and uniformly built in regular streets, and inhabited by a tribe of Arabs, the greater part of whom are Fokera or religious men. They have a pontiff called El Faky el Kebir, (the great Faky,) who is their chief and judge.

Damer has acquired considerable reputation for its schools, to which young men are sent from Darfour, Sennaar, Kordofan and other parts of Soudan, to study the law. It has a large mosque built on arches of brick-work, in which prayers are regularly performed. The Faky el Kebir leads the life of a hermit, in a small room about twelve feet square, where his food is daily brought to him by his friends and disciples. His mornings are occupied in reading, but about three in the afternoon he takes his seat on a stone bench, where he is joined by the rest of the fraternity. Mr. Burckhardt went to kiss his hand, and found him a venerable old man, wrapped up in a white cloak. 'The affairs of this little hierarchical state (he says) appear to be conducted with great prudence, and all its neighbours testify much respect for the Fakys.'—Such are the good effects produced by a veneration of religious institutions, even of the very worst kind.

As there was no daily market at Damer, and no metal currency less than a dollar, our traveller was under the necessity of going from house to house, with some strings of beads to sell in exchange for a few measures of dhourra. This gave him an insight into the manners of the people.

'One afternoon while crying my beads for sale, I was accosted by a Faky, who asked me if I could read. On answering in the affirmative, he desired me to follow him to a place where he said I might expect to get a good dinner. He then led me to a house where I found a great number of people collected to celebrate the memory of some relative lately deceased. Several Fakys were reading the Koran in a low tone of voice. A great Faky afterwards came in, whose arrival was the signal for reciting the Khoran in loud songs, in the manner customary in the east, in which I joined them. This was continued for about half an hour, until dinner was brought in, which was very plentiful, as a cow had been killed upon the occasion. After a hearty meal, we recommenced our reading. One of the Shiks produced a basket full of white pebbles, over which several prayers were read. These pebbles were destined to be strewed over the tomb of the deceased in the manner which I had often observed upon tombs freshly made. Upon my inquiries concerning this custom, which I confessed to have never before



'before seen practised in any Mohammedan country, the Faky answered that it was a mere meritorious action, that there was no absolute necessity for it, but that it was thought that the soul of the deceased, when hereafter visiting the tomb, might be glad to find these pebbles, in order to use them as beads in addressing its prayers to the Creator. When the reading was over, the women began to sing and howl. I then left the room, and on taking my departure my kind host put some bones of roasted meat in my hand to serve for my supper.'—p. 269.

The caravan remained at Damer five days, and setting out on the 15th of April, reached Shendy on the 18th. Next to Sennaar and Cobbé in Darfour, Shendy is the largest town in eastern Soudan; it consists of several quarters, divided from each other by public market places, and contains from 800 to 1000 houses, similar to those of Berber. Those of the chief and his relatives have courtyards twenty feet square, inclosed by high walls. The name of the Mek is Nimr, or the Tiger. He holds his mekship in right of his mother, who was of the Sennaar tribe, which explains Bruce's account of his having found a woman (*Settina*, our lady) on the throne. Three different tribes of Arabs inhabit the country of Shendy, besides that to which the Mek's wife belongs, and their dissensions among themselves assist materially in the preservation of his authority.

As merchandize pays no duty at Shendy, it has become a place of flourishing trade. The Mek is generally satisfied with a small but voluntary contribution from each of the caravans. Mr. Burckhardt, however, was obliged to part with his gun, to which this chief unluckily took a fancy, in consideration of four Spanish dollars. He had already about twenty rusty firelocks, and he made serious proposals to our traveller to enter into his service as a gunsmith. His court consists of half a dozen police officers, a writer, an imam, a treasurer, and a body guard formed chiefly of slaves.

The character of the inhabitants of Shendy is much the same as that of the Berbers: debauchery and drunkenness are even more common here than among the latter; but the public women do not infest the streets as at Berber. The dress, habits and manners are also the same, and appear to prevail as far as Darfour on the one hand, and Sennaar on the other. At Shendy, however, there were more well dressed people than our traveller had observed elsewhere. The women wore golden rings at their noses and ears.

At Shendy Mr. Burckhardt observed a ceremony which marks most strongly the inveteracy of oriental customs. On the death of a Djaaly chief, 'I saw,' says he, 'the female relations of the deceased walking through all the principal streets, uttering the most lamentable howlings. Their bodies were half naked, and the little cloth-

ing they had on was in rags; while the head, face and breasts, being almost entirely covered with ashes, they had altogether a most ghastly appearance.\* So says Herodotus, and almost in the same words.\*

Shendy has a weekly market, which appears to be well supplied with a great variety of goods. The currency is the same as that of Berber, dhourra and dammour. The merchants sit in the market-place in little mud shops about six feet square, covered with mats. Among the articles exposed for sale Mr. Burckhardt enumerates milk, brought every morning by the Bedouin girls and exchanged for dhourra; butcher's meat of cows and camels, but rarely of sheep; all kinds of groceries and spices; soap, coral, and glass beads; tobacco, the best of which is from Sennaar; natron from Darfour, and salt from the mines of Boyedda: antimony, sandal wood, gum Arabic and various kinds of drugs. Four or five hundred camels, as many cows, a hundred asses, and twenty or thirty horses were on sale on the great market-days. The artisans whom he noticed at Shendy were chiefly blacksmiths, silversmiths, tanners, potters and carpenters. The women and grown up children, and many of the men, were generally observed with a distaff in their hands, spinning cotton yarn for the people of Berber, who are great weavers.

Shendy is also the principal market for the purchase of slaves. With the exception of a few Abyssinian females who are distributed through Egypt and Arabia, these unhappy creatures are chiefly negroes from the interior of Africa: there is, however, another description of slaves distinguished by the name of Noubas, the offspring of these Abyssinian women and their masters, by whom they are sent to Shendy. The rest are blacks of Soudan, the number of whom sold annually at this place Mr. Burckhardt calculates at 5,000; of these he reckons 2,500 for Arabia, 1,500 for Egypt, and 1000 for Dongola and the Bedouins of the mountains between Shendy and the Red Sea. The greater proportion of slaves brought to Shendy are below the age of fifteen, many of them are children of four or five years old.

Mr. Burckhardt conceives that, on the most moderate calculation, the number of slaves in Egypt may be estimated at 40,000; that the number exported towards Arabia and Barbary is greatly below the number kept by Mussulmen within the limits of Soudan: from his own observation (he adds) there are not fewer than 12,000 along the borders of the Nile from Berber to Sennaar, and 20,000 in

\* When a man of any condition dies, all the female part of that family besmear their heads and faces with dirt; and leaving the body at home, march through the streets of the city with naked breasts and girdles tied about the waist, beating themselves as they go.—*Enterpe*.

Darfour; and, from every account which he could collect, the proportion does not diminish as we proceed westward into the populous countries of Dar Saley, Bournou, Bagermé, Afriou and Haoussa. He concludes therefore, that laudable as the efforts of England have been to abolish the infamous traffic in western and south-western Africa, 'there does not appear to be the smallest hope of the abolition of slavery in Africa itself;' and concurs in the opinion which we have more than once expressed, that 'it is not from foreign nations that the blacks can hope for deliverance: that this great work must be effected by themselves;' and that this can only be done 'by the education of the sons of Africa in their own country, and by their own countrymen.'

As a visit to Mecca at the time of the pilgrimage, in order to obtain the title of Hadji, (the most powerful recommendation and best protection in any future journey into the interior of Africa,) had been the principal motive of our traveller's second journey into Nubia, he set about his preparations for the journey. With this view, he sold his little stock of merchandize at Shendy, purchased a slave-boy for sixteen dollars, a camel for eleven, and, after laying in a stock of dhourra meal, butter, and dammour, found he had just four dollars remaining; which he calculated would suffice to carry him to Djidda, on which place he had a letter of credit from Cairo.

Thus prepared he joined the caravan for Suakin, by the route of Taka; among them was a party of black traders from Western Africa, to which, as a poor man, he attached himself; not only in the hope of deriving information but also assistance from them, if he should want it. The principal among them was Hadji Aly, a slave-dealer, from Kordofan, who had been a great traveller, and already thrice performed the hadji.

'His travels, and the apparent sanctity of his conduct, had procured him great reputation, and he was well received by the meks and other chiefs, to whom he never failed to bring some small presents from Djidda. Although almost constantly occupied (whether sitting under a temporary shed of mats, or riding upon his camel on the march) in reading the Koran, yet this man was a complete bon vivant, whose sole object was sensual enjoyment. The profits on his small capital, which were continually renewed by his travelling, were spent entirely in the gratification of his desires. He carried with him a favourite Borgho slave, as his concubine; she had lived with him three years, and had her own camel, while his other slaves performed the whole journey on foot. His leathern sacks were filled with all the choice provisions which the Shendy market could afford, particularly with sugar and dates, and his dinners were the best in the caravan. To hear him talk of morals and religion, one might have supposed that he knew vice only by name; yet Hadji Aly, who had spent half his life in devotion, sold  
last

last year, in the slave-market of Medinah, his own cousin, whom he had recently married at Mekka. She had gone thither on a pilgrimage from Bornou by the way of Cairo, when Aly unexpectedly meeting with her, claimed her as his cousin, and married her: at Medinah, being in want of money, he sold her to some Egyptian merchants; and as the poor woman was unable to prove her free origin, she was obliged to submit to her fate. The circumstance was well known in the caravan, but the hadji nevertheless still continued to enjoy all his wonted reputation.'—pp. 365, 366.

Having crossed the Atbara, or Astaboras, their route lay to the south-east; and they soon entered the country of the Bisharye Arabs, a bold and handsome race: the men go constantly armed, and are seldom free from quarrels; the women are slender and elegant, of a dark brown complexion, with beautiful eyes and fine teeth. But the moral character of both sexes is very bad; they are 'treacherous, cruel, avaricious and revengeful, and are restrained in the indulgence of their passions by no laws either human or divine.' They are the most inhospitable of the Bedouin tribes, and this alone, says our traveller, proves them to be a true African race; they speak no Arabic. At Om Daoud, he went among the huts to beg a little water or milk, when his appearance excited an universal shriek among the women, who were terrified at the sight of such an outcast of nature as they consider a white man to be. Even at Shendy, on market days, the country-people were often affrighted by his turning short upon them, and generally exclaimed, 'God preserve us from the devil!'

The populous and fertile district of Taka, a valley among the eastern mountains, overflowed in the rainy season, is noted for its fine breed of cattle and excellent dhourra. It is inhabited by a tribe of the Bisharein, who have their bouza huts, and their public women. Wives make no difficulty in receiving strangers into their tents; but, says Burckhardt, with great simplicity, 'this never happened to me: for whenever I presented myself before a tent, the ladies greeted me with loud screams, and waved their hands for me to depart instantly.' These people eat the blood of animals coagulated over the fire, and the liver and kidneys raw; but the milk of the camel and dhourra are their principal articles of food. Like the Bishareins of Atbara, those of Taka are treacherous, revengeful, and addicted to theft.

'A Hadendoa seldom scruples to kill his companion on the road in order to possess himself of the most trifling article of value, if he entertains a hope of doing it with impunity; but the retaliation of blood exists in full force. Among the Hallenga, who draw their origin from Abyssinia, a horrible custom is said to attend the revenge of blood; when the slayer has been seized by the relatives of the deceased, a family feast is proclaimed, at which the murderer is brought into the  
midst

midst of them, bound upon an Angareyg, and while his throat is slowly cut with a razor, the blood is caught in a bowl, and handed round amongst the guests, every one of whom is bound to drink of it at the moment the victim breathes his last.'—p. 396.

On leaving Taka they were joined by a number of black pilgrims from Bagerme and Bornou as far as Timbuctoo, begging their way to Mecca.

'The equipments of all these pilgrims are exactly alike, and consist of a few rags tied round the waist, a white woollen bonnet, a leathern provision sack, carried on a long stick over the shoulder, a leathern pouch containing a book of prayers, or a copy of a few chapters of the Koran, a wooden tablet, one foot in length, by six inches in breadth, upon which they write charms, or prayers, for themselves or others to learn by heart, an inkstand formed of a small gourd, a bowl to drink out of, or to collect victuals in from the charitable, a small earthen pot for ablution, and a long string of beads hanging in many turns round the neck.'—p. 407.

Vast numbers perish on this long and unhealthy route; they are looked upon, however, as martyrs, and their fate rather encourages than deters others from following their example. One of the present company was blind; he had come from the west of Darfour, guided by a stick in the hands of a companion who led the way. Mr. Burckhardt subsequently saw this man begging in the mosque at Mecca, and again at Medina grovelling on the threshold of the temple, and exclaiming, as he asked for charity, 'I am blind, but the light of the word of God and the love of his prophet illumine my soul, and have been my guide from Soudan to this tomb!'

We have already extended our account of this interesting volume to too great a length to allow us to dwell on the journey across the mountains to the port of Suakin, on the Red Sea; where our traveller was likely to fare worse than he had hitherto done, had he not fortunately been possessed, as we before observed, of a firman from Mahommed Ali, which procured him a passage to Djidda;—and here we must take our leave of him till the appearance of another volume, which we presume will contain the account of his pilgrimage to Mecca, and to Medina.

We cannot, however, close this Article, long as it is, without reverting to a subject which has more than once occupied our attention—the course and termination of the Niger, one of the principal objects of our lamented traveller's intended researches in Soudan.

In our review of Park's second journey, (No. XXV. p. 128. 137. 140.) we were induced to try the validity of the hypothesis (first thrown out by Maxwell) which gave to the Niger a southern course, and a termination in the Zaire or Congo; and we entered on the question chiefly because Park had warmly adopted that hypothesis, previously to

to his leaving England, and in the truth of which he afterwards became more strongly confirmed the farther he proceeded down the stream. We felt that the opinion of the man who had first, in modern times, ascertained its eastern course, was not to be rejected on slight grounds; and we are willing to persuade ourselves that we succeeded, at least, in shewing that the arguments against the possibility of the truth of the hypothesis were not well founded; leaving to others the choice of probabilities between the Congo and the swamps of Wangara. The unfortunate expedition of Captain Tuckey made no alteration in the state of the question, excepting that the information procured on that voyage went far to establish the fact of the Zaire having its origin to the northward of the equator.

But Mr. Burckhardt has revived a question of older date than either of the above-mentioned speculations, by the assurances which he received—and which every Arab merchant and black pilgrim has repeated in every quarter of northern and western Africa,—that the Niger of Soudan and the Nile of Egypt are one and the same river. This general testimony to a physical fact can be shaken only by direct proof to the contrary, or by demonstration of its physical impossibility. That it had been so shaken by the arguments of Major Rennell we never conceived a doubt, until the perusal of Mr. Burckhardt's narrative induced us to look more closely into the statements of Bruce, on which the impossibility of identity was chiefly grounded; when we perceived them to be so vague and inconsistent, that we determined to try the question on its own merits.

If it be true that the Niger actually unites with the Nile, it can only do so through the channel of the Bahr el Abiad or White river, which joins the Bahr el Azrek near Halfaia, about the 16th parallel of northern latitude, on the extensive plain of Sennaar; and the concurrent testimony of all travellers goes to this point. 'All the Burnuans and Haussans (says Hornemann) that I questioned about the distant regions of this river, (the Niger) agreed in telling me that it ran through the land of the Heathens by Sennaar: others affirmed that it passes through Darfour in its course eastward and flows to Cairo, being one stream with the Egyptian Nile.' He was further informed by a native of Egypt who had several times travelled to Darfour and to the southward of it, to collect slaves, 'that the communication of the Niger with the Nile was not to be doubted; but that this communication, before the rainy season, was very little in those parts, the Niger being at the dry period *reposing*, or, *non fluens*,' and 'that the river called Bahr el Abiad is this river,' (the Niger). In the suite of the Morocco princes taken on board the Tagus frigate at Alexandria, was a hadji who had frequently visited Timbuctoo.

Timbuctoo. This man assured Captain Dundas, that there was but one opinion in that city, of the identity of the Niger and the Nile; that the former discharged itself into the Bahr Soudan, and the latter had its rise out of that sea:—but it is needless to multiply concurring testimonies. If we examine the character of the Abiad, we shall find it to be that of a river which has traversed a long course of level country, rather than a collected body of mountain-streams. Bruce says that where it joins the Azrek at Wed Hojila, it is 'larger than the Nile,'—'deep in all its course,'—'twice as broad as the Nile, and can scarcely be seen to flow;'—'that it runs *dead* and with little inclination,' and 'preserves its stream always undiminished.' Bruce saw it at the height of the rainy season, and yet it ran 'dead'—in fact, the whole description which he gives of this western branch of the Nile, points it out as an immense canal or *drain*, quietly carrying off the collected waters of some great lake or inland sea—such as the lakes of Ghana and Wangara are described to be, or that sea of Soudan of which all the Arab travellers speak.

Two objections, however, have been stated to this termination of the Niger, and such as would be insuperable if implicit confidence could every where be placed in the accuracy of Bruce. The first is, the great elevation of the plain of Sennaar, which would require the bed of the Abiad, and consequently that of the Niger, to be at least 5000 feet above the level of the sea, an elevation greater, probably, than even the *source* of the Niger;—the second is the want of correspondence in the periodical inundations of the Nile of Egypt and the Nile of Soudan.

Now, although Mr. Bruce seems to have kept a weather journal in Abyssinia, we find only two observations for elevation made by the barometer, one of which is unintelligible,\* at least to us, and the other not such as to entitle it to notice. This latter one was taken at the source of the Nile, and is thus stated: 'I had procured,' he says, 'from the English ships while at Jidda, some quicksilver, perfectly pure, and heavier than the common sort; warming therefore the tube gently at the fire, I filled it with this quicksilver, and, to my great surprize, found that it stood at the height of twenty-two English inches: suspecting that some air might have insinuated itself into the tube, I laid it by in a warm part of the tent, covered, till morning, and returning to bed, slept there profoundly till six, when, satisfied the whole was in perfect order, I found it to stand at

\* By the mean of forty-one observations taken at Massuah, on the Red Sea, the height of the barometer is said to be  $25^{\circ} 6' 2''$ , and at Dixon,  $21^{\circ} 1' 2''$ , the difference of which, he says, gives a difference of elevation of the two places equal to 4664 feet. What sort of barometer he could have used to indicate  $25^{\circ} 6' 2''$  on a level with the sea, is not explained, nor do we pretend to understand.—Vol. v. p. 440. Third edition.



twenty-two English inches, and thence I inferred that, at the sources of the Nile, I was then more than two miles above the level of the sea.\* This inference would not have been authorized, even had his instrument been as perfect as it was evidently otherwise: for admitting that the mercury stood at Massuah on the Red Sea, at thirty inches, (instead of twenty-five,) and disregarding the corrections for difference of temperature, &c. (which he had no means of knowing,) the descent of the mercury to twenty-two inches would give an elevation of barely 8000 feet, instead of more than 10,560 feet. But the proof of his inaccuracy will be obvious when it is considered that by his account, the mountain of Geesh must be 15,000 feet above the level of the sea, while we are told that snow never falls in any part of Abyssinia.

Yet this loose estimate of the elevation of the springs of the Nile is the only groundwork for deducing that of Sennaar; for here he took no observation whatever, but states loosely that the plain of Sennaar 'is more than a mile lower than the high country of Abyssinia'—that is, about 5,200 feet above the level of the sea. We shall find, however, by examining another part of his work, that such an elevation is altogether inconsistent with a former statement. In noticing the strange assertion of the Jesuits, that the Alps and Pyrenees are inconsiderable eminences to the mountain Guza, he says, 'though really the base of Lamalmon; it is not a quarter of a mile high.'† If he means above the sea, being to the southward of Sennaar, or higher up the river, and on more elevated ground, the latter plain must of course be lower than a quarter of a mile, or 1320 feet; a height which agrees better with the 'easy descent' the Nile has from hence to the sea, than his elevation of more than 5200 feet; but on this point we mean not to insist further, as we may have misunderstood Bruce.

Every account given by modern travellers through Nubia agrees with the 'easy ascent of the Valley of the Nile.' In the whole distance of one thousand miles, from the Abiad to the Mediterranean, there are but two cataracts, which are not *falls*, but mere *rapids*, occasioned by contractions of the bed of the river by rocks, neither of which present an interruption to navigation. Lord Belmore navigated the Nile against the stream without any difficulty to the second cataract, as did Captains Irby and Mangles; and Bruce says he sailed against the stream at the rate of *eight miles an hour*. Mr. Burckhardt, in crossing the mountains from Shendy, through Taka, to the shore of the Red Sea, evidently found the descent to that sea little more than the ascent from the Nile. The current of the Nile is at no time so rapid as that of the Ganges; in

\* Vol. v. p. 311.

† Vol. iv. p. 371.

the dry season it is much less so; yet we have the testimony of Major Rennell, (and better we could not desire,) given too on actual experiment, that the slope of the bed of the Ganges is only *four inches* in a mile, and that of the land, in a straight line along its winding banks, nine inches in a mile. The slope of the bed of the Amazons is stated by Condamine to be likewise four inches, and that of the plain through which it flows six inches and three-quarters. The Nile is less tortuous than either of these rivers, and the slope of the continued plane or valley through which it flows may, perhaps, be taken at six inches, which would give to that part of the plain of Sennaar where the Abiad joins the Azrek, an elevation of 500 feet, instead of more than 5000; yet it is on the latter supposition, and on that alone, that the junction of the Niger with the Nile has been declared impossible. We are persuaded, however, that it would not be impossible, were we to give to the Nile the full slope of the Ganges, and to consider the elevation of the point of confluence of the two rivers (Abiad and Azrek) above the Mediterranean to be 750 or even 800 feet; and we arrive at this conclusion on the following grounds.

The course of the Niger for the first 2000 British miles is within two degrees on either side of the 15th parallel of latitude, ending, as it is supposed, at the eastern extremity of Wangara in about the 14th parallel. But the hypothesis does not admit of its ceasing in the sea of Wangara; and if it proceeds, it must necessarily decline and pass to the southward of Darfour, as far probably as the latitude 10° N., where it may join the Abiad. Supposing this to be the case, the length of its course from Wangara to the confluence of the Abiad and the Azrek would be about 1000 English miles. If then we allow the full inclination of the Ganges (nine inches in the mile) for the first 2000 miles, and that of the Amazons for the latter 1000 miles, (being in all probability a succession of seas or lakes, till it joins the *dead-running* canal of the Abiad,) and 800 feet, as above mentioned, for the whole inclination from the Abiad to the sea, we shall have 2800 feet as the elevation which would be required for the source of the Niger, to carry it through Soudan and Egypt into the Mediterranean, with a current equal to that of the Ganges or the Amazons—an elevation which will perhaps not be deemed too great for the real truth, when it is considered that the same elevated region from which it issues gives rise to two other great rivers, the Senegal and the Gambia. But as we may confidently assert that neither the current of the Niger nor of the Nile is of equal strength with that of the Ganges or the Amazons, even this elevation would not be required to carry the waters to the Mediterranean.

The other objection to the identity of the Niger and the Nile is grounded on the incongruity of their periodical inundations; that is

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to say, on the rise and fall of the former river not corresponding with those of the latter. The contrary, however, we apprehend to be the fact. The sea of Soudan, or, if the expression be more correct, the lakes and swamps of Wangara, are stated to be full and overflowing about the middle of August. Supposing the outlet to flow into the Abiad, at the rate of two miles an hour, the waters would reach the Azrek in three weeks—at three miles an hour, in a fortnight; in either case early in September. Now though the Nile is sometimes at its height about the end of August, it frequently continues to rise to the middle of September and to fall but little, with occasional risings, during the whole month of October; circumstances which could hardly happen if its supply was derived solely from the mountain-streams of Abyssinia, and those of the *Bahr-el-Abiad*, if the latter had no other sources than those in the *Jebel-Kumri* or Mountains of the Moon. A mountain-torrent is soon exhausted, and ceases almost with the discontinuance of the periodical rains; and if the Nile had no other supply its fall would be sudden, which is contrary to the fact. 'All the waters in Abyssinia,' says Bruce, 'collected into the Nile would not be sufficient to pass its scanty stream through the burning deserts of Nubia, without the Abiad which joins it at Halfaia;' and in another place he says, 'the Nile would be dry for eight months in the year but for the Abiad:—and, we may add, the Abiad would not greatly assist in prolonging the flooding of the Nile, after the cessation of the rains, if it had no other supply than those derived from the mountain-streams of the *Jebel-Kumri*.'

We ventured to assert in a former Number, (XXXVI. p. 348.) that all lakes or inland seas, having no outlets, must, from the very nature of things, be salt; we quoted several well-known instances in proof of this: hence we concluded that, as those of Wangara, according to Arabian authorities, were fresh, they must necessarily have their outlets. We have since received an account of two large seas, or sheets of water, being discovered in the interior of New Holland, supplied chiefly by two rivers of very considerable size, whose sources are on the western side of the Blue Mountains. The first, which is to the southwest of Port Jackson, was ascertained to have no outlet; but of the second, the exploring party could not discern the boundary. We know not whether Lieutenant Oxley forgot (like Sir Alexander Mackenzie) to dip his finger into the water to taste it; but he has at least supplied unequivocal testimony that the waters of the first were *salt*, as all the plants, collected on the shores and islands and swampy places of this lake or morass, prove to be saline plants, and of the same species as those which grow on the sea-shore of that country.—On this ground we may safely pronounce it an inland lake, without any

any outlet. Were this the case with regard to Wangara, the waters would be, from the nature of the soil through which the Niger and other rivers flow, remarkably salt, from the successive evaporation of the water and the consequent accumulation of saline particles for thousands of years, perhaps from the creation of the world; whereas, by having an outlet, these particles, being dissolved by the annual inundations, are carried off, and the remaining waters thus preserve their freshness..

We give no credit whatever to the report received by Mr. Jackson, of a person having performed a voyage by water from Timbuctoo to Cairo. Large seas in the rainy season, and chains of lakes in the dry, are not inviting navigations to native Africans, whose trade and travels are almost universally conducted by caravans which Burckhardt assures us is not only more suited to the taste of the people, but cheaper. To expose themselves to the risk of perishing by famine, of being devoured by crocodiles, or plundered by the long succession of petty chiefs on the borders of rivers, are evils more terrible than any which they meet with in crossing the largest deserts. Even on the Nile, from Sennaar to the second cataract, there is no floating craft, and the only mode of passing the river is by a rude raft of the stems of the palm-tree or an inflated sheep-skin.

We leave our readers to draw their own conclusion as to the validity of the general testimony which we have stated to prevail in favour of the identity of the Nile of Soudan and the Nile of Egypt: for ourselves, though we are by no means wedded to any particular theory,—we have no hesitation in declaring, that this testimony has not yet been contradicted by any direct proof or known physical impossibility.

ART. IX.—*Le Royaume de Westphalie—Jérôme Buonaparte—sa Cour—ses Favis—et ses Ministres.* Par un Témoin oculaire. Paris. 1820.

THE shortest lived of kingdoms was the kingdom of Westphalia, and yet it lived longer than it deserved. It was created in the wantonness of Buonaparte's audacity, and it was swept away in the whirlwind of European vengeance. During the shock of elements the existence of this little state was almost unknown, and in the great day of retribution its fate was hardly remarked: but as, after the stormy fight in which navies have contended, the people of the neighbouring shores pick up with some degree of interest the empty boat which recalls the remembrance of the magnificent vessel to which she once belonged—so we may be permitted to glean, for the amusement of our readers, a few fragments of the

wreck of that miserable skiff, nicknamed the kingdom of Westphalia.

The kingdom of Westphalia was created by the treaty of Tilsit, in October 1807. It was composed of the Prussian provinces of Eichfeld, Hohenstein, Hartz, Halberstadt, Magdebourg, and several others, and of the dominions of the elector of Hesse, together with the duchy of Brunswick and the counties of Schaumburg and Osnabruch, and, at a subsequent period and for a short time, the electorate of Hanover.

Over this new state, composed of countries which had no sympathy or connection of feeling, except only what were caused by a community of the German language, was placed a Corsican king, and a court and administrators selected from the dregs of Paris, and who could speak nothing but French.

The first care of the provident and illustrious creator of this kingdom, Napoleon the Great, was to appoint a council of regency to govern till the arrival of his brother Jerome, whom he had in his wisdom designated for its sovereign, and who is admitted, even by those who praise the rest of the family, to be one of the most impudent, profligate and incapable coxcombs, whether by sea or land, (for he had exhibited himself on both elements,) that had ever excited the contempt of mankind while he served in an inferior sphere, or their wonder and disgust when he was dragged by his brother's buoyancy into higher and more critical examination.

The regency was composed of persons whose names are still to be found in the *dramatis personæ* of the farce which the *Sieur De Caze* has been lately playing in the character of the King of France—*Count Beugnot*, a *ci-devant* steward or seneschal of a manor in Champagne; *Simeon*, an old lawyer of Aix; *M. Jolivet*, a political quack, who has been an obscure member of all the National Assemblies and Conventions of the revolution, and who considers himself as a great man, because, by his absolute incapacity and nullity, he had escaped being exiled or guillotined, the alternative fate of every man of respectability, talents, or rank; and *General La Grange*, a revolutionary parvenu, 'as brave' (his countrymen say) 'but as ignorant as his own sword,'—and to this steward, attorney, mountebank and corporal, the destinies of the new realm were appropriately committed.

These regents were no sooner installed than they found that they had not *one* only, but *twenty viceroys* over them, in the character of commissaries of *Napoleon the Great*, who exercised all the power and seized all the revenues, in the name and for the use of their master; and who left to the illustrious quartetto only the pleasing employments of 'explaining to the Germans, through an interpreter, the decrees of contribution, conscription, and

and confiscation, which the confidential commissaries had previously begun to execute in the name of Napoleon the Great. The poor people, though they knew nothing of the French language, began to have a very lively sense of the blessings of French fraternity, and they looked with no small anxiety to the arrival of their *king*, in the unity of whose power, and in the sanctity of whose name, they hoped to find some alleviation of their miseries and disgrace under the Beugnots, Simeons, and Jollivets.

A raven was dispatched from the royal ark at Paris to view this land of promise and to report whether the waters had subsided, and whether it was dry enough for the imperial foot of the Most Serene Prince. This worthy messenger found that, provided glasses, carpets, sofas, commodes, actresses, and police spies were sent from Paris in sufficient numbers, the new realm might be made habitable as an occasional residence; and accordingly, these preliminaries being settled, with all the accuracy of a Magna Charta for Westphalia, His Majesty King Jerome, about the end of December 1807, entered in a triumph, which Mr. Burke would have called an ovation, his good city of Cassel—the astounded capital of his heterogeneous dominions.

The first operation of the royal government was worthy of its gravity: the palace of *Wilhelmshöhe* was baptized with the new and consistent name of *Napoleonshöhe*. The next measure was to disperse the members of the regency into the chief offices of the administration. Simeon was made lord chancellor and minister for the home department; Beugnot first lord of the treasury; Jollivet chancellor of the exchequer, and General La Grange minister at war. As not one of these ministers knew one word of German, a minister of police was superadded, who knew as little; and thus the whole administration of the kingdom, in every department, was a series of *lessons in the German tongue* given by the chief clerks to the respective ministers, and of *lessons in French*, reciprocally, communicated by the latter: it was however observed that this Madras system of mutual instruction had very limited results; except that the French learned that *nein gelt* meant *point d'argent*, and that the Germans learned that *point d'argent* meant disloyalty, disaffection, dismissal and disgrace.

'The march of the human mind,' 'the progress of philosophy,' and 'the lights of the age,' require, (as the Buonapartists tell us,) in the days in which we have the honour to live, a wise, respected, strong, liberal, and national system of government. How beautifully Buonaparte in his kingdom of Westphalia exemplified this theory, is already apparent. It was national—because, even in the heart of Germany, the ministers were French; it was liberal—because it was above all little prejudices of religion and morals; it was

strong—because it was supported by French bayonets ; it was wise—because it obeyed, if not cheerfully, at least accurately, all the dictates, nay, even all the hints of the cabinet of the Tuileries ; and how respected and respectable it was, may be judged from the following anecdote.

Shortly after Jerome's arrival, and before the cares of government had been entirely entrusted to him, he was one day in the garden of the palace, surrounded by the chivalrous court which his brother had created for him. His Majesty was pleased to be gay, and the weather, in the first days of spring, being inviting, His Majesty proposed a game at *leap-frog* ! and in order to excel—it is the known character of the Buonaparte dynasty to excel all men in all things—he stripped himself even to his royal shirt, to facilitate his movements. Unhappily the windows of a private house overlooked this scene of princely revelry ; and as his Majesty was now an object of some curiosity, they were soon filled with spectators, who however did not, it seems, sufficiently approve the feats of royal activity. Next morning the house was seized by the king, who thus gave at once a striking proof of the gravity and justice with which he was likely to administer a government, from which the venerable family of Hesse had been just driven, as bigoted, stingy, and illiberal.

The court, however, had no misgivings as to the character of its sovereign ; it was consistently composed,—the husbands and wives were of the easiest and most indulgent dispositions—liberal in all points—to such a degree that, while Jerome, over-awed *at first* by the rank and character of his wife, a princess of Bavaria, maintained some show of moral decency towards her, it was shrewdly said, that their conjugal union was a source of *scandal to the whole court*. This was a scandal however, and the only one, which Jerome took the earliest opportunity of correcting.

We are afraid that it is too general and too just a reproach, that whatever is found unfit for employment in a mother-country is exactly suited for the colonies : judge then what must have been the fate of the poor German colony, under the rod of that imperious step-mother France. To be unfit for Paris was considered as a qualification for Cassel, and accordingly the bankrupts, swindlers, and fortune-hunters of the French-capital, poured into this new land of promise ; and although there were of course many disappointments, several of these adventurers, and particularly those who had pretty wives, were soon absorbed into the Westphalian administration. One of the most respectable men of the whole court was one Bouchard, who having been a pedlar of tooth-picks and braces, in the coffee-houses of Hamburgh, awoke  
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one fine morning, and found himself prefect of the palace (or Lord Steward) to his Majesty.

Let us take as another example—the character of the minister of war—Mor—, a young French colonel, aide-de-camp and favourite of the king.

‘It was, one would have thought, no easy matter for so young a man to undertake so important a department, and to create and organize an army. Fortunately, Mor— had no doubts about the matter. In three days he had all his desks fixed, and all his clerks placed at them. This was not very difficult, for he almost sent into the streets and highways, and pressed every Frenchman, who could be found straggling, into the war-office.

‘A poor devil, one Goa—, who had never been in a more confidential employment than of that examining the marks and numbers of the bales of commissariat stores, found himself all at once secretary at war of the Westphalian army, charged with the selection and promotion of its officers. In spite of his opposition, they took and locked him up, as it were, in a great gallery filled with an alarming multitude of portefeuilles, and bundles of dispatches, at the very sight of which the poor wretch sank still lower under the sense of his own incapacity; there he remained for three days and nights, in dirt and darkness. At the expiration of that time, he was again permitted to see the light, but more weary of his office than Sancho of the government of Barataria, he supplicated and obtained a post more suited to his taste and talents. As he had the misfortune to write a miserable hand, he was first appointed a copying clerk, but as he found even this station troublesome, the *ex-secretary at war* was at last satisfactorily placed in the suitable situation of a *commissary of victuals*.’—p. 30, 31.

There were a few Germans of ability whom Buonaparte had advised his brother to call to share the responsibility of his government, such as Muller and Martens. The latter seems to have had the good sense and loyalty to his ancient prince to decline the favours of Jerome. Muller, whimsically called the Tacitus of Germany, because he had translated Tacitus, had the weakness and folly to leave his rank, and, as it turned out, his character, at Berlin, and to come to Westphalia to be secretary of state;—but the oppression of the people, and (what perhaps touched him still more) the contempt in which this fluttering court held his pedantry, soon sickened him, and he manifested an intention to retire at the invasion of the country by Napoleon in the person of Count Daru, (now one of King Louis’s peers,)—who was sent with the character of *intendant-general* to enforce the payment of a contribution of twenty-five millions of francs, and the restitution of the whole of the land revenue of Westphalia to the French treasury, from which Jerome had, it seems, scandalously diverted it to his own purposes,

instead of remitting it, according to the intention of the founder, to the Trésor Impériale at Paris.

The raising of this heavy contribution and the exaction of this revenue were to be facilitated by one of those popular operations for which the *liberals* are never wearied with praising Buonaparte. The states of Westphalia were assembled, and native Germans were placed as prefects over the new fangled departments of the country. This trick answered its object, the money was paid, and the German representatives and prefects were dismissed to their original nothingness.

Muller, however, held out till this affair was accomplished, and he then retired overwhelmed with debts, ridicule and remorse,—he died a striking example to men of letters who are silly enough to fancy that, because they can translate Tacitus or Machiavel, they are therefore able to practise their precepts. Muller's will is however honourable to his integrity, and curious for its singularity. It states, that he leaves debts and no fortune, that he desires his manuscripts may be sold to satisfy his creditors, 'and if,' he adds, 'they should prove sufficient, I hope I may be allowed to bequeath my watch to my servant.'

In the mean while Counts Simeon and Beugnot (who have made, we dare say, very different kind of wills) went on with their operations, and it is, says our author, impossible to describe the arrogant airs and clumsy levity with which these heavy Frenchmen laboured to treat the still heavier Germans.

'In vain did the unhappy barons of Westphalia prostrate themselves on the earth before the ci-devant attorney of Bar-sur-Aube (Beugnot); he treated them no better for their baseness. One of them, by dint of assiduity, succeeded one day in obtaining admittance to the ministerial presence. Oh, happiness! he sees face to face the great man, who is very comfortably warming his back at the fire.—His Excellency addresses the suppliant.—M. le Baron, do you understand Latin? Yes, may it please your Excellency, said the delighted German, who expected at least an embassy from so kind and circumstantial an inquirer. Ah, said the gracious Beugnot, you understand Latin! *tell me then what is the Latin for my breeches?* The Baron had studied at Göttingen, and was not to seek in his Cicero or Virgil, but he did not know the Latin for *breeches*, and Beugnot showed him the door, with some innuendo of his being an impostor, amidst the applauses of one of those sycophant assemblies which is always ready to applaud whatever falls from a great man, and the more loudly as the thing happens to be the more impertinent or the more silly.'—p. 45, 46.

Another anecdote will show the kind of people who were collected from the outskirts of mankind to rule this unhappy country.

'The grand marshal of the palace, since decorated with the title of Count of Wittingerode, invited one of his cousins from Marseilles to  
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be the receiver-general of a department. The honest candidate for office was not strong in geography, and unfortunately was totally ignorant of the "*whereabout*" of the kingdom of Westphalia. He had, however, a vague notion that it was in Germany; and putting his person into the stage coach as if it had been a parcel, he made the best of his circuitous way to Vienna, where he was astounded to find that he was nearer to Turkey than to Westphalia, and that he had near 600 miles to travel back again, before he could reach the seat of his preferment.—p. 42.

One personal story more, and we have done with that branch of our subject.

'De B— was now placed at the head of the police.—A clever man—but with a great deal of presumption, and one of the slickest and supplest of intriguers. By some relationship with the family of Regnaud, (de St. Jean d'Angely) he had dropt from the clouds and fallen on his legs in Cassel, God knows how'—

Here let us observe on the indescribable baseness of a German court, in which it was a title of advancement to be the cousin of such a fellow as *Regnaud*; and let us further observe, that this *Regnaud*, the basest of Buonaparte's satellites, was not long ago selected by the King of France as an object of favour, and had he not, luckily perhaps for the character of this prince, died suddenly, he might have been created a peer, like *Davoust*, who was about this time one of the scourges of Westphalia. But let us return to *Regnaud's* cousin, the minister of Westphalian police.

—'His career had been extraordinary. In his youth he had been a soldier: that vocation he had quitted to be a priest. In the revolution, (when the *Christian* clergy fled from the contamination of the jacobins,) he became a constitutional vicar-general.' He soon tired of this trade, threw his gown to the dogs, and became a contractor for army stores; he then rose to be secretary to a prefect, to this he of course added the duty of a courtier; he then became a poet, then turned physician, and finally was erected into a member of police in Westphalia. In this latter character he became the "*little pet*" of the family of his patron Count *Furstenberg*, who, notwithstanding his personal favour with the king, found it not inconvenient to have a creature of his own in the police.—p. 65.

To such persons was the kingdom delivered over, and in such and in worse operations were they employed—Napoleon draining the state for his wars, and his underlings dividing the dregs for their pleasures,—when a circumstance occurred, which, as it belongs to general history and will make some figure in the annals of German enterprize, we shall relate with a little detail.

Schill, a major in the Prussian service, was a man of about 36 years of age, of rather small stature, but strong and active. He had a high degree of enthusiasm, and was supposed to be deeply

versed in the mysteries of the secret societies of Germany; full of courage and enterprize, but new in the art of war, and not endowed with judgment enough to temper and direct his honest zeal. He had been severely wounded at the battle of Jena, and was in Magdeburg when that fortress so unaccountably and so shamefully opened its gates to the French. Schill leaped from his sick bed to avert, if possible, this disaster. He ran through the streets, with a pistol in one hand, to shoot, if he could meet him, the cowardly and treacherous governor; the other arm was in a sling; and his only attire was a bloody sheet which in his hurry he had thrown over him: in this state he endeavoured to excite the inhabitants to that duty which the troops had abandoned, but in vain; and the possession of Magdeburg sealed the military possession of Prussia by the troops of France.

When the battle of Aspern had excited the hopes of Europe, (how fatally disappointed by the weakness and irresolution of some of the Austrian commanders, this is not the place to examine,) Schill revived at the glimmering prospect of the liberation of his country. At the head of 400 men of his own regiment of hussars, he quitted the neighbourhood of Berlin, where he was quartered, and directed his march towards the Elbe, in the intention of raising the standard of general revolt in Westphalia.

Our author thinks that Schill lost time and exhibited great want of judgment in not at once attacking either Magdeburg or Cassel; but we cannot presume to join in the censure without more detailed information than we possess. He did however, after scouring the neighbouring provinces for a week or ten days, present himself before Magdeburg. The French governor, Michaud, very foolishly left his garrison to meet these partizans in the field, where he suffered a very severe loss; and there can be little doubt that if Schill had had some infantry he might have retaken Magdeburg, the inhabitants of which were actually in insurrection in his favour. Foiled however in this attempt, he made for the Elbe, which he reached, and along the right bank of which he marched till he established himself at Domitz. Here he rested for a fortnight, and at last the French and Westphalian generals, after a thousand ridiculous panics and errors, collected such a body of Dutch and Danish troops, in addition to their own, as induced Schill to evacuate Domitz and retreat on Stralsund. General D'Albignac took possession of Domitz with the absurd airs of a triumph, and returned to Cassel, leaving General Gratien, with the Dutch and Danish troops in the service of France, to follow Schill;—follow him they did: but when they arrived at the walls of Stralsund, this active partizan had been already ten days in possession of the town, which, with extraordinary activity, he had placed in a respectable state of defence.

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The force which by this time had been assembled around him, though it was, Schill knew, too great to be conquered, was not too great to be fought. The place was taken by assault, and Schill died fighting in the streets. The fall of the patriot hero ended the insurrection for the moment, but his example had kindled, and his death bequeathed, a spirit of resistance to French oppression, which in a few years after led the Prussian hussars from the banks of the Vistula to the quays of the Seine.

Relieved from this immediate danger, the Westphalian troops were ordered to advance to the assistance of the grand army, which was now about to renew its offensive operations. Fortunately for Buonaparte he contrived to settle his affairs without them. They would have scarcely helped to repair the losses of Aspern, or to decide the dubious fate of Wagram.

‘Never was there such an army—generals enough, but not one commander. When the march was begun in the morning the whole army were already stragglers;—it may be supposed they were not much improved at the halt in the evening. Every body was so obliging as to give every kind of orders, but there was unluckily no one to obey. It was complete riot. The commissaries cheated—the officers drank—the soldiers pillaged—the generals insulted every young woman who happened to fall in their way, and amongst such complicated irregularities nobody and every body were alike to blame.

‘The king could not travel without his court. It was a never ending procession of horses, carriages, servants, courtiers, enough to frighten, not the enemy, but the purveyors—I am not sure that there was not a company of players to act farces in the camp. Fortunately no enemy appeared—we should have had a fine hurry! I remember that at one bivouac, near the frontiers of Bohemia, an alarm was given, false indeed, but an *alarm*; for it threw the whole motley congregation into a glorious confusion. I shall never forget the chamberlains and lords of the bedchamber, in white silk stockings, endeavouring to make their escape through the deep clays of Saxony, and leaving at the two first steps their dancing shoes in the mire. How miserably the Austrians must have been provided with spies! If fifty dragoons had been hounded at us, they would have routed the army, and carried off the king and his whole court.’—p. 116.

The armistice of Wagram liberated the courtiers and their shoes from the clays of Saxony; and the Royal expedition moved back, not in better order, but with greater alacrity than it had advanced, and was hastening to enjoy the luxurious repose which the arts of Napoleon rather than his deeds, had, as they thought, secured for his faithful though *very distant* followers of Westphalia.

But another incident supervened which—not on account of its influence on this wretched *petaudière* of a court—but for its bold conception,

conception, chivalrous execution and patriotic spirit, deserves to be recorded as often and as fully as the occasion may present itself.

By a curious and cowardly exception in the armistice, the auxiliary corps of the Austrian army were abandoned to their fate—which appeared to all, and was to most, inevitable ruin. The Duke of Brunswick, with his little band of faithful subjects, was placed, as Buonaparte hoped, in the desperate dilemma of continuing a mortal yet ridiculous contest with the armies of France, or of submitting to kiss the feet of the oppressor of his country and the slaughterer of his family. But the spirit of the House of Brunswick was not to be restrained by such dilemmas. The Duke saw with a bold sagacity a road of honour, if not of safety, open to him. The road of honour Buonaparte never travelled himself, and therefore never suspected that others would find it. The Duke took at once the noble resolution of marching with his little troop from the heart of Bohemia to the shores of the North Sea, 500 miles, through hostile governments, pursuing armies and opposing citadels.

Leaving Egra immediately after the armistice, he gained several days march on the corps which was observing him, and reached with wonderful celerity the banks of the Saale. At Halle he defeated and disarmed a company or two of the Westphalian army, and with the reinforcement of a few patriotic peasants, he marched along the mountains of the Hartz, in order to occupy their fastnesses if pressed by superior forces.

General Michaud, who had commanded the army of the Rhine in 1793, was, as we have before said, governor of Magdeburgh, and had notice of the duke's movements; but they were too rapid for his veteran calculations, particularly as he had little or no cavalry. Besides he despised the duke's force, and little expected to find in the desperate fugitive, a daring aggressor. A body of Westphalian infantry had orders to march from Magdeburgh to Hamburg, and its commander the Grand Marshal of the Westphalian court, Count Wittingerode, was so little alarmed at the rumours of the duke's vicinity, that he marched on in full confidence, but not without the usual precautions of patroles and videttes. His corps arrived safe and sound at the end of its second day's march, at Halberstadt, and immediately took up its quarters very comfortably and in apparent security, with detachments of gendarmes posted round in all directions. Unluckily for the Grand Marshal, he had to do with no ordinary man. Well-informed by his own activity, and by the zeal of the peasantry, of the force and situation of the enemy, the Duke covered his march by the woods which run along the skirts of the Hartz, even to the walls of Halberstadt, and about six o'clock of a fine summer's evening, he appeared in full force *before* the town,—*in* the town!—It was the

work

work of a moment: the troops were at roll-call, in foraging caps, unarmed, when the Brunswickers thundered upon them. Hundreds were sabred in a moment; the rest escaped, some to Magdeburg, some to their homes: the whole arms and stores of the corps, the richest and most expensive of the Westphalian army, were taken; not a drumstick was saved, and the Grand Marshal of the palace awoke, as out of a day-dream, to find himself the ambulatory prisoner of the proscribed sovereign; who, losing not a moment, took immediately the high road to Brunswick. By this time the Westphalian army had returned from Saxony to Cassel, and the magnanimous Jerome, indignant at being thus insulted in his own territory, ordered it to advance against the duke, under the command of the governor of Cassel, while General Gratien, on the other side, was to take the Brunswickers in the rear. From 12,000 to 15,000 men were thus collected round less than a thousand partisans, wearied by long marches, and depressed by the alternative of defeat or exile: but they were patriots, and led by a hero.

The duke reached Brunswick twenty-four hours before the enemy. He encamped under the walls of the town; the inhabitants, always loyal to the ducal family, were electrified by his sudden appearance into an enthusiasm of loyalty; they flocked to their sovereign, and entreated him to enter the palace of his fathers: but no personal affection, nor the still more urgent desire of finding even momentary rest and shelter for his wearied followers, could induce this admirable prince to risk the safety of his beloved Brunswick. To the affectionate solicitations of his subjects, he replied, 'I am a fugitive, and am about to cast the die of battle; remain quiet, while I proceed to fulfil whatever may be my fate; remain quiet, obey your new masters, in order that we may all meet in happier days.' It is consoling to think that they did meet—triumphantly—and in happier days.

About 6,000 of the enemy arrived before Brunswick in the night, and took up a position on the road to Lunenburg, thus cutting off the duke's march. Vain hope!—at the dawn of day, the duke rapidly advanced to force his passage. A young regiment, which was opposed to the first shock, could not stand the countenances of their iron antagonists, they were broken; the guards and a regiment of cuirassiers were steady, and more than sufficient to have overwhelmed even a greater number of ordinary assailants. But ill-commanded and furiously attacked, they also fell into some confusion; a fresh charge decided the fate of the day, the rout became general, and horse, foot, and artillery fled in utter disorder, and were scattered into the surrounding country; and the Governor of Cassel was within a hair's breadth of accompanying the Grand Marshal of the palace in his forced visit to England.

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The duke by this victory cleared his way and marched without interruption to Bremen, where he embarked without molestation, and reached the hospitable asylum for exiled princes, in safety.

His further history may be told in two words, and will be remembered for ages. He died, as he had lived, the bravest of the brave, in the battle of Quatre Bras, on the eve of the great day of Waterloo, at the head of the Black Hussars of Brunswick, whose uniform the duke had chosen, as mourning for the death of his father, and the oppression of his country.

After this episode, we have no spirit to return to the miserable absurdities, debaucheries, exactions, and cruelties of Master Jerome and his court. His wretched subjects were forced to furnish armies to the campaigns of Moscow, of Dresden, and of Leipsick. We recollect, with a mixture of mirth and melancholy, Jerome's report to his great brother of two of his regiments having been lost in an attempt at charging the enemy, '*parce qu'ils manquaient, ces hussards-là, l'habitude de monter à cheval.*'

The breaking up of the ten years frost in which Buonaparte had bound up the limbs and faculties of Europe, carried away in its débâcle King Jerome and his court. The ill-assorted kingdom of Westphalia fell to pieces, and the liberated people returned with joy to the beneficent rule of their sovereigns of a thousand years :—while Counts Daru and Beugnot, and Simeon and Jollivet, found in France, under the wise and discriminating rule of Louis XVIII., that countenance and fortune, those honours and those offices, of which the tried friends of his martyred brother, and the devoted companions of his own adversity are deprived, with all the jealousy of a relentless and personal persecution.

- ART. X.—1. *The Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. W. C. Plunket, in the House of Commons, on Tuesday the 23d of November, 1819. Manchester. London. 1819. pp. 24.*
2. *Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. George Canning, in the House of Commons, on Wednesday, November 24th, 1819, on the Address to the Throne, upon the Opening of the Session of Parliament. London. 1820. pp. 54.*
3. *Substance of the Speech of the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, in the House of Lords, November 30, 1819, on the Marquis of Lansdowne's Motion, That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the State of the Country, and more particularly into the Distresses and Discontents prevalent in the Manufacturing Districts, and the Execution of the Laws with respect*

respect to the numerous Meetings which have taken place.  
London. 1820. pp. 62.

IN the moment of escape from imminent danger, or of deliverance from heavy calamity, men naturally cherish the warmest and most grateful affection towards those under whose auspices their rescue has been achieved. The promptitude and the energy of parliament appear to have been successfully exerted in averting from us that revolutionary crisis, which some of the wisest among us recently anticipated, and which the bravest could not anticipate without uneasiness. The workers of mischief are not indeed extinguished; and they are not, we fear, very likely to be reclaimed; but they have at least suffered a severe discomfiture. The measures, and even the very attitude, of our senate have had the effect of disorganising their evil projects and damping their malignant hopes. For a season they seem driven into an ignominious though probably not an innocent obscurity, and, like certain more illustrious conspirators of old, may be said to have

‘—disappear’d

Far in the dark dislodg’d and void of rest.’

At such a period, the publications to which we in this article give our attention, will be welcomed with peculiar interest. They contain the recorded eloquence of some of the most distinguished among those civil leaders *qui rempublicam Senatûs auctoritate servârunt*,—the chiefs, under whose guidance the efforts of the legislative body have been so effectually directed towards the maintenance of the public tranquillity. They are precious monuments of the wisdom, the genius, and the virtue, which the exigences of the country called into action, and by whose concurrent instrumentality its menaced happiness has once more been secured.

Whatever calumnies may be uttered by the hundred tongues of Radicalism against our Houses of Parliament, the praise of eloquence, at least, cannot be denied to those august assemblies. In oratorical display, if not in the more solid exhibitions of patriotism and public spirit, they shew themselves equal to the demands of every emergency. On the present occasion, this remark has been signally exemplified; at no period since the death of Mr. Fox, if a concurrence of authoritative testimony may be believed, has the general level of parliamentary eloquence made a nearer approximation to the gigantic models of the last century, than during what has already elapsed of the present session. It is to be regretted that, of the ability which thus shone

shone forth, much will never be known to posterity, excepting through the valuable, yet necessarily imperfect medium of the daily press. If a selection, however, of any *three* speeches was to be made, it would appear that none could have been more properly selected than those actually before us. Where many have done well, and not a few most admirably, these perhaps are the three orators whose success has been the most conspicuous, and whose merits are therefore the most peculiarly entitled to commemoration :

‘Omnibus hic erit unus bonos : Tres præmia primi  
Accipient, flavæque caput nectentur olivâ.’

With regard to the more immediate occasion of these speeches, it will be observed that two of them, those of Mr. Plunket and Mr. Canning, were delivered on a question of comparatively narrow extent. The Amendment moved by the Opposition in the House of Commons to the Address, in reality admitted every material fact stated or assumed in that address ; to some of those facts it even gave a stronger relief and a bolder colouring ; and it differed from the address only by attempting to tack to it what Mr. Canning happily calls a mitigating appendage. There was, after all, little left to be disputed,—a spot of ground, debateable indeed, but within contracted limits. The subject which called up Lord Grenville presented a wider scope. Confessedly embracing the whole state of the country, it afforded the eminent speaker an abundant opportunity of depicting in all the depth of their actual malignity, and of estimating, in the whole extent of their dreadful tendencies, the mischiefs which had occasioned the premature assembling of parliament. He found ‘ample room and verge enough the characters of hell to trace.’ Perhaps also, the situation of Lord Grenville conspired with his subject to prescribe to him the most extensive possible range of argument and observation. He spoke as a parliamentary leader, dissenting in opinion with those friends with whom he had for many years acted ; and could hardly do justice to himself, except by a public and decided statement of his prevailing views and impressions. He was a veteran captain, deliberately separating his eagles from those with which they had, during a long series of campaigns, been associated and intermingled ; it therefore peculiarly became him to accompany his march by a manifesto, declaratory of his proceedings and his purposes.

The speech of Lord Grenville comes forth also with this distinctive advantage, that it is throughout reported in the first person, and as if it were falling from the orator’s own lips ; while Mr. Plunket uniformly, and Mr. Canning for the most part, are exhibited

exhibited to us in the characters of their respective reporters. Surely it might suffice to leave to the daily prints, whose necessities in this respect have no law, a method of reporting, which seems to despoil eloquence of all its light and heat, and in the place of these to substitute the frigidness and *distance* of mere narration. The practice is not indeed without precedent. It was occasionally adopted by the ancient historians in the speeches which they introduced; but then this was only in the shorter speeches; and the practice might perhaps, in writings avowedly narrative, possess a comparative propriety. It seems less easy to understand why the same plan should be pursued, when an oration is sent out from the press alone; or what good end can be gained, by laboriously obtruding upon us the ungracious figure of an intermediate agent, when, from the very nature of the publication, we are led to expect an introduction to the free and commanding form of the orator himself, and prepare ourselves to feel his accents strike on our minds with all the force and effect of spoken eloquence.

If it be said that accuracy is of more importance than effect,—that, in detailing a speech in the first person, it becomes necessary to fill up and finish many parts which either were originally imperfect, or have been imperfectly remembered,—and that the consequence is that the fidelity of the likeness is sacrificed to the beauty of the picture,—let it on the other hand be considered whether any likeness can be more unfaithful than that which, while it exhibits the air and features of its subject, leaves out all the grace and spirit by which they were informed. This cannot be called accuracy in any fair application of the word. It is in reporting as in translating,—he alone does his author justice, who is

‘True to his sense, but truer to his fame.’

The fact is that a speech of real and commanding effect must, by a transfusion through the cold medium of the press, inevitably suffer more than can be compensated for by any trifling amelioration in the mere article of style. Where so much is necessarily lost, we need not grudge an insignificant addition. The voice,—the eye,—all the immediate action of mind upon mind,—all the visible inspiration of intense energy and conscious power,—all the thousand proprieties that depend on an intuitive responsiveness to the fluctuating emotions of a great and agitated assembly,—all these must evaporate in the transcript; and their place is ill supplied by the gelid frost-work, however curiously wrought, of mere verbal embellishment. The difference between the spoken and the published oration, is the difference between some magnificent

uificent temple laid open to the studious contemplation of a solitary visitant, and the same edifice beheld amidst the fullest accompaniments of sacrificial movement and splendour, thronged with adoring crouds, and resounding with solemn harmonies.

To institute any comparison between the merits of the respective speeches before us, would not only be invidious in the extreme; but, from what has been said, it will appear that, unless the spoken effect of each could be known, such an attempt would be absolutely idle. We have reason to believe that the speech of Mr. Plunket is that which has sustained the most injury by the act of passing from the oral into the written state. Let us not, however, be understood to disparage the merits of that admirable production. As might have been expected from the known character of Mr. Plunket's public speaking, it is eminent for the unlaboured clearness and compactness of its reasoning, for the noble simplicity of its style and manner, and for the soundness and elevation of its political views.

Mr. Plunket signally supports the fame of his country for genius and eloquence; yet it is remarkable that his genius and eloquence have not the same peculiarities with those of the majority of his countrymen. He is not a disciple of what may be called the Irish school. Perfectly national, we doubt not, in his feelings and attachments, nothing can be less national than his taste in oratory. The eloquence of Ireland has great and extraordinary merits. It has force, fancy, fervour, passion, grandeur; and, possessing these excellencies, it may be forgiven for occasional offences against good taste,—for a proneness to profusion of imagery, exaggeration of sentiment, and hardness or inflation of style. The truth is, that it is idle to blame these qualities; which, equally with the former, belong to a certain stage in the progress of national literature. The Irish have not advanced to so high a point of the scale as their brethren of England; and *their speech bewrayeth them*;—their oratory, with all the fresh and rude virtue, exhibits also many of the defects, that usually characterize the literary productions of a comparatively unrefined people. It is true that one of the distinguishing qualities of such a people is simplicity; but then it is simplicity of feeling, not of taste. Their affections are pure and sound; but, in giving them expression, if they attempt to rise beyond the language of common life, they rise into an untried region, and become affected or extravagant. In a word, rude nations, like children, are ever mistaking finery for elegance; and the same rule holds, with a graduation of force, through all the successive steps between savage nature and the highest degree of refinement.

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The effect of this remark is not diminished by the undeniable fact, that numbers of the higher classes of persons in our sister kingdom receive an education as refined as the utmost fastidiousness of English taste could demand. National eloquence, like national music, is moulded and fashioned according to the judgment and feeling, not of the higher and more educated members of the community, who may be said to be of no country, but of the multitude. These, let it be remembered, are the hearers, the *recipients* of eloquence; and to the capacity of the recipient, the thing received must in a great measure conform itself. In effect, no higher praise can be bestowed on a speaker, than that he consults the taste of his audience; and few and rarely-gifted indeed are those, who can do this without catching a little of the inclinations which they consult, and actually acquiring that character which they, in some sense, assume for the particular occasion.

Mr. Plunket, however, whatever be the reason, appears to have escaped even a tinge of these peculiarities. In his style of speaking, he is, as was said of Charles Fox, *all over English*; if indeed he be not something better. He is simple, nervous, collected, deliberate, consecutive; and this, without at all degenerating into tameness or preciseness. If he has not altogether those impassioned bursts, or that overwhelming and inspiring vehemence, for which the great departed orator just named was so remarkable, he has, like him, all the unpretending plainness which belongs to the perfect style of eloquence. In fairness, at the same time, and straight-forwardness of understanding, he is even superior to Mr. Fox; whose love of ratiocination was such, as too frequently betrayed him into a merely gladiatorial exercise of his art, and led him to delight in the evolutions of argument, rather as affording opportunities for brilliant display, than as facilitating the discovery of truth.

On the oratorical character of Mr. Plunket we have been the more diffuse, because in the English hemisphere, if we may so speak, he is comparatively a new star; and he is one of the first magnitude. Of the two other speakers before us, the merits have long been so intimately known, either by fame or by personal experience, to every thinking individual in this country, that any delineation of the general style or manner of either would be quite superfluous. With respect to the particular specimens of their powers now under consideration, the Speech of Mr. Canning appears before the reader, despoiled of what is said to have been one of its principal virtues, that of a strict relation to the previous course of the debate. Yet, even under this disadvantage, we find

in it no scanty or dubious vestiges of that excellence, which, long after midnight, and for upwards of two hours, captivated the attention, and governed the feelings, of a before exhausted and impatient House. The brilliancy indeed, for which the speaker is so eminent, has with great judgment been in this instance somewhat repressed. But, in every part of his address, the most just and constitutional principles of policy are enforced; and he throughout displays that 'curious felicity,' which, in its application to the mere concern of diction, is an exquisite accomplishment, but which, when directed to the more important task of selecting, arranging, and mutually harmonizing the topics and arguments belonging to a whole subject, rises, the ancients themselves being the judges, into the very highest sphere of oratorical excellence.

Lord Grenville's is one of his noblest, and at the same time most characteristic efforts. It is altogether the discourse of a great and dignified parliamentary leader on an occasion of momentous gravity. Secondary ornaments, if not severely rejected, are at least not sought:—there is little of impassioned, and none of what may be called *poetic* eloquence: but every page bears, in lines the most deeply engraven, the impress of 'deliberation' and 'public care;' and the deepest conviction insensibly steals over us, while, in a strong and manly, yet strictly correct and classical style, the distinguished senator lays open the critical state of his country, unmasks the cruel designs of her domestic enemies, and instils into the minds of the august assembly he is addressing, the requisite counsel and instruction. From this masterly, statesman-like and majestic exposition, we shall, in our further progress, derive our most copious extracts; not because we deem it the best of the compositions before us; but because it is (as we have already observed, and for the reasons we have given) the most comprehensive.

It cannot be necessary minutely to recall to the memory of the reader the circumstances which led to the assembling of Parliament in the month of November last. Through the whole of the preceding summer, parts of the country had been more or less disturbed; and partial disturbance had created general alarm. The foundation, or (if the expression may be used) the *nucleus*, of these disturbances was, undoubtedly, the distress which affected many portions of the community, and particularly the population of some of the manufacturing districts. Distress produced a degree of discontent and disaffection, confused notions of political wrong, and vague desires of change. These were the distempered imaginations, the *agri somnia*, engendered by hunger and misery; but there wanted not worse suggestions and wicked counsellors.



counsellors. Busy men,—some of them excluded from the more estimable parts of society and compelled to *walk through the dry places of the earth, seeking rest*,—others, desirous of distinction, or eager for gain, and exactly shrewd enough to suspect that they could never become either great or rich, except by being mischievous, had long employed themselves in the dissemination of doctrines equally anti-social, anti-moral, and anti-christian. These familiars now availed themselves of the prevalent distresses and discontents, to propagate their low poisons with increased effect; they, in fact, systematized, so far as the powers of intellects not eminently prone to system would permit, a regular conspiracy against the welfare of the state; a conspiracy, ostensibly aiming at little less than the establishment of democracy in policy, and deism by way of religion. In the prosecution of this design they found unconscious, or at least unintentional, auxiliaries in better men than themselves; in some, who, hating them, joined them simply for the purpose of swelling the cry against government; in others, who, refusing to join them, swelled the cry against government notwithstanding: for, at such periods, there is no middle party; they who are not with the constituted authorities are against them.

The friends of the government, meanwhile, and, probably enough, the government themselves, felt somewhat embarrassed as to the mode of treating the fast-growing mischief. Remedies for the distresses of the country were not easily to be found; and, at all events, *immediate* remedy was out of the question: that is, the fuel that fed the flame could not be removed. The only alternative was, to deal with the evil directly; and here the difficulty lay between the danger of fomenting it by indulgence, and that of exasperating it by opposition. Under these circumstances, some public crisis or other could not fail speedily to occur; whether at Manchester or elsewhere might be a matter of conjecture; but, somewhere or other, it might have been predicted, even on the faith of no better oracle than the chapter of accidents, that the opposite elements now abroad and in motion would undoubtedly meet and jostle and conflict together.

Chance, as in most similar cases, determined the first rencounter. The demagogues had meditated, and, in fact, actually organized, an immense meeting to be held at Manchester on the 9th August, collected from a considerable extent of country, for the purpose, as they publicly notified, of discussing the most speedy and effectual mode of obtaining a radical reform of the House of Commons, and the propriety of the unrepresented inhabitants of Manchester electing a person to represent them in parliament, as also the adoption of Major Cartwright's bill. This meeting,

had it been held, would not only have been illegal, but, according to the high authority of Mr. Plunket, would have amounted to an act of treason. No wonder, therefore, that it was prohibited by a public proclamation of the magistrates. The effect was singular. It often happens that men abandon their measures, while they retain their designs; but in this instance,—such are the inversions of Radicalism,—though the treasonous purpose was ostensibly abandoned, the anarchists announced that the meeting would be held notwithstanding. It was now advertised for the 16th August, with the object of taking into consideration the most legal and effectual means of obtaining a reform. A previous address was issued by the notable mountebank whom the party had elected to be their spokesman and ring-leader, their ‘trumpeter-hornet,’ for the occasion, in which this man of peace, according to the settled usage of Radicalism in such cases, exhorted his followers to maintain a firm and temperate deportment, warning them that their sanguinary enemies would seek every occasion to create riot and bloodshed; at the same time that he invited the ‘wise magistrates,’ who with threats had prohibited the former meeting, to be present at this, and very fairly assured them that the radicals *despised their threats*.

The meeting took place accordingly, to the number, as some of the radical leaders afterwards boasted, of a 100,000 or 130,000 persons. Certainly the number was immense. The several divisions that composed the assembly marched to the place of rendezvous in regular bodies of from three to six or eight abreast, with all the precision of military discipline, accompanied by bands of music, and preceded by banners inscribed with such mottoes as ‘Equal Representation or Death,’ and, in some cases, surmounted by caps of liberty. Many were armed with bludgeons. Excepting, however, by this sort of dumb crambo, and excepting also one loud howl of defiance on the appearance of the magistrates and yeomanry in the distance, it appears that, whatever daggers the party meant to *use*, they were resolved to *speak none*. Most of the columns marched, we believe, and formed in silence; and, as for their leader, the burden of his speech, like the remonstrance put into the mouth of a demagogue whom we will not degrade by naming in the same sentence, amounted to this: ‘Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up to mutiny!’

The purpose of all this military array, according to the best radical authorities, was ‘to confer cheerfulness and hilarity on the people.’\* Unfortunately, however, it conferred nothing but terror and perplexity on the good people of Manchester, who could

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\* Bamford's petition.

not, without alarm, behold, in the heart of their populous and wealthy town, a vast and organized concourse of strangers, headed by men of principles and characters the most notorious, accompanied by appearances the most menacing, avowedly assembled for political objects, and founding their claim to the praise of legality on the ground that they had just ceased to meditate treason. Many hastened to remove their effects from the vicinity of these new champions of liberty and property; and numbers of the most respectable householders voluntarily made oath before the magistrates, that they considered the peace of the town as endangered. This latter proceeding has, we are aware, been ridiculed, on the ground that it was giving evidence of facts which existed only in conjecture, or which, at all events, were future. Not so:—it was not giving evidence of future or conjectural facts: it was giving evidence of the actual and existing fact that the meeting in question conveyed apprehensions to the minds of the king's subjects; and this happens to have been the precise fact by which the legality of that meeting was to be tried.

That such an assembly indeed should, by any sensible mind, be deemed legal and constitutional, affords an illustration of a remark made by some acute observer of human nature, who says that, if the passions of men could enter as deeply into mathematical as into moral discussions, no single proposition in Euclid would be safe from question. The magistrates of Manchester knew nothing of the refinements on which these doubters proceed. But they knew that the law forbade the holding of assemblies calculated to terrify the neighbourhood; and, judging from their own ocular observation that the meeting before them might well terrify the neighbourhood, and learning from an accumulation of sworn testimony that the neighbourhood was, in fact, terrified, they very naturally drew the inference that the meeting was contrary to law. If this was so, then, called on as they were, and implored to protect the loyal population of the town, they were evidently not at liberty to wait till the fears of those who claimed their protection should have been fatally justified. They therefore proceeded, first and immediately, to seize the ringleaders; in the hope, as it should seem, that the removal of the chiefs would induce the crowd to depart quietly; but, if this should not be the case, then secondly, their object was the direct dispersion of the meeting; to be effected, if possible, by quiet and pacific means. In the sequel, the endeavour to effectuate the one of these purposes precipitated the accomplishment of the other. The civil officers, in trying to execute the warrant for the apprehension of the ringleaders, were strongly and successfully resisted by the mob. The yeomanry were then reluctantly ordered out to the

support of the civil force, but though, in the performance of this duty, they carefully abstained from giving more molestation to the thickly-serried and resisting crowd than was absolutely necessary, they were assailed not only with abuse, but with heavy stones and brickbats: several yeomen were felled from their horses; one was hurt mortally; and had they not been rescued by a body of regular cavalry which came to their assistance, the whole number would have been destroyed. The accession of the dragoons turned the scale; and the affray ended in the flight and dispersion of the mob, of whom some were killed and many more wounded or otherwise injured.

It would be impossible for any but the most callous heart to contemplate without emotion this most fatal and lamentable occurrence; and the emotion must be one, not of deep sorrow only, but also of lively indignation. Against whom, however, is that indignation to be directed? Is it against those, who, commissioned by the law itself, executed a painful and a perilous duty in defence of that law; or against those who, gratuitously and wantonly, first insulted, then broke, and lastly defied it? Is it against those who, charged with the conservation of the public peace, and called upon to fulfil this sacred trust in behalf of a large and most valuable population, nobly obeyed the call at the expense of great personal danger, and not even without exposure to the poniards of assassination;—or against those, who, perfectly knowing (as their own previous declarations evince) the imminent hazard of the evils that afterwards actually ensued, yet deliberately chose to pursue the course the most singularly likely to produce those evils; who advisedly adopted proceedings so directly, daringly, and madly endangering the public peace, for which these unhappy reprobates all the while affected the tenderest and most melting regard, that even the understanding of a child could hardly have failed to anticipate the result? In a word, are our sympathies to be appealed to, in favour of those public functionaries, who, compelled to act under circumstances the most critical, instead of shrinking into mean and selfish passiveness, sacrificed their ease and comfort, exposed their unspotted reputation to foul obloquy, and even incurred the risk of death itself, rather than violate the obligations and belie the responsibility of the arduous post assigned to them:—or is the whole homage of our feelings to be prostituted on the very men who were the undoubted causes of all that is dreadful or perplexing in these transactions,—men, who wilfully led their deluded victims into danger, for the sake of plunging them into crime,—men, who, like the Malignant Principle himself, can knowingly take advantage of the distresses of mankind, to blast their virtues,—base artificers

artificers of ruin, who drive the trade of destruction, not for its own sake, (for even in that there would be a sort of horrible and satanic greatness,) but for the sake of the miserable pelf, the wretched honours or worse lucre, they derive from it, and who, for such polluting rewards as these, are content to sacrifice the honour, the principles, and the happiness, of all this great and fair country?

But misrepresentation was to have its day. The public ear was poisoned, and the judgments of many excellent and honourable minds perverted, by the calumnious reports circulated respecting the deeds of blood, as they were called, at Manchester. A just and a generous attempt, on the part of the government, to counteract the progress of the epidemic fallacy, and to uphold the reputation and the authority of the Manchester magistrates, by publicly conveying to them the expression of the royal approbation, seemed to have little other effect than that of involving the ministry in the same obloquy with those whom they would have sheltered. The political sky was more and more overcast. The good and the wise, to whatever party they belonged, looked forward with agitation and anxiety. Obscure and ominous sounds were heard, of change, of trouble, and even of revolution; and it soon appeared that the nation had but one human resource, that of summoning its Great Council to provide for the public safety.

It was under these circumstances that parliament met; and it was under these that the recorded eloquence before us had its birth. In fact, we have taken a rapid survey of the occurrences already detailed, only by way of preface to the extracts we are about to produce from the works under consideration. It will be a gratifying task to exhibit the views and sentiments of the distinguished statesmen from whom they proceeded, in the place of our own.

It is in the first place observable that not one of the speakers has affected to slur over the public danger, or to represent the crisis as otherwise than one of the utmost alarm and solicitude. The following striking delineation of the subject is given by Lord Grenville.

‘ My Lords, the admission with which my noble friend (*the Marquis of Lansdowne*) commenced his temperate and able speech, relieves those who may follow him in this debate from all necessity of expatiating on the painful circumstances of our present danger. He sees and acknowledges its existence; he is deeply sensible both of its magnitude and its urgency; and the glowing colours in which he has represented our present situation must have made the strongest impression on the minds of all your lordships. For myself, unquestionably, I need not say what is my own conviction on this subject. Often has it been my painful  
 114 duty

duty to express, in this house, the continued and increasing anxiety with which I have regarded the attacks unceasingly directed against the whole frame and fabric of our government. Often have I laboured, and laboured ineffectually, to impress these feelings on the minds of others. My apprehensions have been considered as visionary, originating much more in a fond and solicitous attachment to the interests which I conceived to be endangered, than in any just view of the actual condition, or future prospects, of my country. And would to heaven that it were so! Joyful indeed would this hour have been to me, if I could now rise and confess my error; if I could say to those from whom it has been my misfortune to differ on these questions, "My apprehensions were vain; your security was well grounded."

The reverse unhappily is true. During a large portion of a long public life, now closed, I have watched the destructive tendency of these revolutionary projects,—I have marked their unremitted activity,—their growing confidence,—their extended influence,—their fast advancing progress. But the evil has outrun my apprehensions. Never, at any former period, has it presented so fierce and menacing an aspect; never yet has it so imperiously required, from the wisdom and firmness of my country, the most immediate, vigorous, and determined resistance.

It is this persuasion which alone induces me, it is this which irresistibly compels me, contrary to all my expectations and all my wishes, once more to solicit your indulgence in the discharge of duties which I thought had been for ever closed.

Let me, then, in the outset of these deliberations, entreat your lordships continually to bear in mind that the mischief against which we are now called upon to defend our country, is not merely of the present day; no, nor of the present year. Its true origin must be traced much farther back,—its real causes must be sought much deeper,—its remedies must be applied with a foresight and policy extending far beyond that pressure of temporary distress to which alone my noble friend is willing to ascribe it. Even in the course of this debate, your recollection has been called to those measures which, in the year 1795, now nearly five-and-twenty years ago, it had already become necessary to adopt for the defence of our laws and government. And it was then that Mr. Burke declared, and he has consigned the sentiment to posterity in his immortal writings, that the grounds of that necessity did not originate among us even with the French Revolution, although that terrible convulsion of the world did, undoubtedly, call them forth, increase them, and give fresh vigour to their operation.

In what manner your security was then provided for, and how it was maintained during the long and arduous contest which ensued, I will not now detain you by examining. We all remember, that from the happy restoration of peace increased confidence was felt, increased assurance drawn by many, for the permanent and undisturbed continuance of our domestic tranquillity. From that very date the mischief has on the contrary been constantly increasing. Every successive period, down even to the moment in which I now address you, has brought us  
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only fresh menace, augmented violence, more open and more ostentatious defiance of the public authority in all its branches. And I now call with earnestness on all who hear me, to reflect, how rarely the history of any country has exhibited so rapid a progress of such a danger within so short a time!

'Unquestionably, when such designs are entertained, and such projects are pursued, the distress of any part of our population must always give great opportunity and advantage to the promoters of sedition. It is the most powerful engine by which they can operate; the stimulant by which they inflame the passions of the ignorant, and drive their deluded victims on to acts of desperation, which, instead of alleviating, can serve only to aggravate, and to prolong their difficulties. But occurrences like these are the instruments, not the causes of the mischief. Much of this evil exists where these distresses have had comparatively little operation. Many are most forward in the sedition whom the pressure has least affected; while those on whom it has most severely borne, have, in many cases, conducted themselves with exemplary patience and resolution, untainted by this pernicious contagion, obedient to the laws, and inviolably attached to those institutions which have so long been the glory and happiness of Englishmen.'—*Lord Grenville*, pp. 1—6.

The noble speaker then proceeds, at considerable length and with great ability, to shew that measures of purely economical policy are but little calculated to meet the existing evil. Through the greater part of this ground we should follow him with implicit acquiescence; there are some points on which, with all humility, we differ from him, as indeed, on subjects involving so much fact and speculation, perfect coincidence of opinion is not to be expected. This is not, however, the place for entering into discussion on the points in question; more especially, as we entirely subscribe, not only to the conclusions, but to all the leading positions, maintained by Lord Grenville, both in support of his general theorem that our refuge does not lie in the regulations of political economy, and in opposition to the particular remedies of an economical nature, suggested by Lord Lansdowne. From this powerful disquisition, he thus recurs to the real and the prominent subject before the House.

'I pass then to the second part of my Noble Friend's motion, that which more directly relates to the internal situation of our country, and to the threatened interruption of its domestic tranquillity. On many parts of this subject, we are all agreed. If, by whatever means, either of previous preparation, or present distress, evil-minded men are endeavouring to plunge us into the unmeasurable calamities of civil discord, our duties cannot be doubtful. To our Sovereign, and to our country, to the British nation, and to the whole civilized world, we are answerable for the preservation and maintenance of our religion and morals, of our laws and government. To our peaceable and loyal fellow-subjects, we owe the defence and security of their rights, properties,  
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and lives. To the deluded victims of these machinations, we have also a duty to discharge; a duty of protection and kindness. We owe it to them, and it is the greatest of all benefits which can be conferred upon them, to rescue them, if it be still possible, from the seduction and treachery by which they are beset; and to remove from their paths and dwellings, the snares unceasingly laid for their destruction. This is the office of their true friends; their bitterest enemies are those who are labouring to inflame their sufferings into disaffection and treason.

‘To the execution of these great and awful trusts, let us then apply ourselves with diligence and resolution: neither disguising from ourselves the real extent of the evil, nor shrinking from the remedies, unpleasing as they may be, which it must unavoidably require. Our danger is no longer to be searched for in hidden consultations or secret conspiracies. It courts our notice, it obtrudes itself on our attention. We are daily assailed with undisguised menace, and are little removed from the immediate expectation of open violence. Let us, then, attentively review the steps which have brought us to this situation. Observe their beginnings, consider well their rapidly accelerated progress—You will find them in near conformity to all that led to the subversion and misery of France. A close and striking resemblance, a servile, yet ostentatious imitation, which it is of the utmost importance that we should forcibly impress upon our minds! If such a parallel were found, even in the remotest history, yet, of the remotest history what better use could we make, than to draw from it whatever conclusions it affords of policy or wisdom, applicable to our own condition? Shall we, on the contrary, now in the hour of our own peril, strive to banish from our thoughts and counsels all memory of this recent and forcible example! We, the nearest spectators of that dreadful convulsion, our minds still shuddering at its crimes, our hearts still bleeding at its miseries, shall we turn aside from the painful but instructive lesson, and in wilful blindness close our eyes against the prophetic mirror which exhibits to ourselves, in the progress of the same machinations, the fearful advance of the same destruction? No, my Lords, let not the warning voice have been heard in vain! We have shared deeply in that widely-extended calamity; the bitter draught which France prepared for herself, has overflowed into our cup. Let us at least derive from it the benefits of an experience so dearly purchased! Observe what were the beginnings of that great catastrophe; follow up its progress; mark by what course it reached its terrible consummation; trace it through subversion and ruin, through plunder and confiscation, through slaughter and massacre, till all was swallowed up in military despotism!

‘What first occurred? The whole nation was inundated with inflammatory and poisonous publications. Its very soil was deluged with sedition and blasphemy. No effort was omitted of base and disgusting mockery, of sordid and unblushing calumny, which could vilify and degrade whatever that people had been most accustomed to love and venerate. No artifice, no incitement, was left untried, which could stimulate the deluded multitude to the most savage acts of insult and outrage, of violence and fury, against the Ministers of their religion, and the dispensers of their government

government and law ; against all who were eminent for birth or rank, for talent or for virtue, and against those most especially, who had been most distinguished as their kindest friends, protectors and benefactors !

‘ Who is there that is not struck with the resemblance of this picture ? Who can be ignorant how closely this detestable and malignant wickedness has been imitated in our own country, how long it has been pursued, and to what a height it has now attained ? You heard the papers read to you this night by my Noble Friend, and you shuddered at the recital. Exhortations to murder and treason, from which the heart recoils, and the blood turns back to its fountain ! If these were only a few and extraordinary instances, exceptions to the general character of the publications daily obtruded on all the lower classes of your community, yet against these, no doubt, you would call down the vengeance of the Law, against these the arm of justice would be directed with universal concurrence and approbation. But it is from a torrent and deluge of such mischief that you are now called upon to protect your Country. The poison has been profusely scattered throughout the land : it has pervaded not only your towns and manufactories, but your peaceful villages and farms. Its malignity is hourly increasing, and fresh activity is employed in its diffusion. This, my Lords, is the true root and source of all your danger ; against this, no social institutions can possibly maintain themselves ; it is incompatible with all peace, all security, all public, and all private happiness. It is of power, and it openly boasts itself to be of power, to overthrow all that is now standing in this country ; and to level in the dust all your prosperity and all your glory, involved in one common ruin with the magnificent and splendid fabric of the noblest government which has ever yet provided for the welfare of any society.

‘ In this unbounded licentiousness of an inflammatory press, pointing continually the poisoned weapons of sedition and blasphemy against all that constitutes human happiness in present possession, or in future hope, shall we content ourselves with asking, as my Noble Friend has done, why the voice of the law has been silent, and the terrors of its arm unnerved ? We must now, indeed, all regret the too sparing exercise of powers, which our ancestors had, with more provident wisdom, interwoven into our Constitution ; we must lament the too reluctant discharge of duties, of which no discouragement could ever justify the dereliction. But we must also confess, that this forbearance is of no recent date. Indulgent as your laws have been, in all that affects this subject, their execution has, for a long time back, been yet more tolerant, even of acknowledged wrong. And happy is that condition of society, in which the mildest laws may, without injury to the public interests, be still more mildly administered ! This had been our fortunate situation ; and this, in consequence, had been our practice. May both speedily return to us ! Soon may we again be enabled to boast, as Englishmen, not only of the unexampled freedom of our press, but also of its comparative exemption from those enormous evils to which such freedom, great as are its benefits, does, in its abuse, open so wide a field. But such, unhappily, is not our present state. We feel, too sensibly,

sensibly, its altered character. I speak it with the deepest affliction; lamenting the change which I have witnessed, and deploring the necessity to which it leads. But we must not forget, that it is to the actual condition and exigencies of every society, that its legislation must conform itself, and that when new evil arises, it must be met by new remedies.

‘When this current of mischief, uncontrolled, and bearing down before it every barrier of public authority or law, had thus far succeeded to sap the foundations of civil society, what next ensued? The next step has been the same here as in the French revolution. The formation of local societies, clubs, and unions, of various description, sedulously contrived and organized, for the diffusion of these impious and destructive doctrines, by frequent and familiar intercourse, and for the establishment of an extensive concert and co-operation in the prosecution of the only practical results to which such principles can lead.

‘And when at last, by the unremitted effect of all this seduction, considerable portions of the multitude had been deeply tainted, their minds prepared for acts of desperation, and familiarized with the thought of crimes, at the bare mention of which they would before have revolted, then it was that they were encouraged to collect together in large and tumultuous bodies;—then it was that they were invited to feel their own strength; to estimate and to display their numerical force; and to manifest, in the face of day, their inveterate hostility to all the institutions of their country, and their open defiance of all its authorities.

‘The question therefore on which we are now compelled to deliberate is nothing less than this, whether Parliament shall continue to disregard this fast accumulating danger, conscious of its progress, and certain of its inevitable tendency; or shall oppose to it a vigorous and effectual resistance, before it reaches the gates of the sanctuary, and shakes the pillars of the commonwealth?

‘If, indeed, this resistance be not now made, one other period only of resistance can remain; that in which the evil shall have reached its last stage, shall have assumed its last hideous form of open insurrection and declared rebellion. Then, indeed, it will be resisted, and I have no doubt, effectually. The British nation is not of a character to suffer its government to be overwhelmed by a tumultuous populace, by whatever artifices excited against it. The great and enlightened body of the inhabitants of this Country, the People of England, truly so called, will never submit themselves to see, by the effect of such machinations, their laws subverted, their property confiscated, and their lives made the sport and prey of some ferocious and sanguinary demagogue. But to meet and to subdue the danger, if once suffered to assume this shape, force must be opposed to force. Recourse must unavoidably be had to those means of repression and defence at the thought of which every British heart bleeds. I will not dwell upon them; the task would be too painful. Sure I am, that the bare imagination of such a contest, aye, and the very circumstances with which success itself must be attended, will be the strongest of all inducements to urge and to compel  
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your Lordships, by provident and timely interposition, to avert that dreadful, but otherwise inevitable, necessity.

'The resistance which you may now make is of a very different character; resistance by Law; by the authority of the Legislature; by the intervention of the Civil government. Can it be doubtful which we should prefer? But the crisis is arrived in which this option must finally be made; the decision must now be taken, and must now be acted upon. If it be still postponed, the choice may probably no longer rest with ourselves. And yet, placed as we are in such circumstances as these, deliberating on the exigencies of such a moment, in what manner is it that we are advised to commence our measures for the repression of those enormities which threaten to involve us in civil bloodshed? By suspicion and distrust, directed not against the authors of the mischief, but against those by whom it has been hitherto successfully, though imperfectly, counteracted: by inquiries into the conduct of our magistrates, and of those who have supported them in the discharge of their painful duties: Shall we accede to this proposal? Do we wish to debilitate all our efforts; to cast away from us our readiest and surest resources; to undermine the best bulwarks of our defence; and to shake to its foundations all hope of mutual confidence, and united exertion? If such were our desire, most powerfully would this course contribute to its accomplishment. My Noble Friend, I am certain, has no such wish: far, very far, is it from his intention to produce so great an evil. I am well assured of it. But I am not the less convinced that such would be the unfailing consequence of your adopting this suggestion.

'For I entreat your Lordships to ask yourselves, what has been the real character, and what the immediate object, of these tumultuary assemblies, to which the present motion refers, and against which your magistrates have finally been compelled to exert the full extent of their constitutional authority. Examine them in all their circumstances; mark their previous preparation, and their actual conduct; the emblems displayed, the language held, the resolutions adopted; and let it then be explained, if any such explanation can be given, for what other purpose such proceedings were intended, but for menace and intimidation,—the most powerful of all revolutionary engines, the very instruments by which in France all religion, law, and government, were levelled to the earth! To strike terror into the peaceable and well-affected; to deter them from supporting the public authorities in the hour of danger; to alarm and to dispirit those authorities themselves, and to drive them, if it were possible, to a desertion of their highest duties:—Such, and such alone, were the consequences naturally to be expected by those with whom these projects originated; and such, we are informed by the papers on our table, are the effects which have already, in some degree, been actually produced.'—*Grenville*, pp. 21—33.

In exact accordance with these impressive representations, is the shorter, but not less graphical view of the same subject, taken

taken by Mr. Plunket. He is alluding in the outset of the following passage, to that courteous reception of the milder projects of parliamentary reform, with which some of the chiefs of opposition were inclined to temper and qualify their reprobation of the broader changes proposed by the professors of radicalism. One only liberty we shall take in transcribing the passage referred to; it is that of substituting the person of the orator himself for that of the reporter.

‘It is stated, in the speech from the throne, that a revolutionary spirit is at work in the country, which threatens its safety and its existence; and the truth of this statement is not denied, but indeed admitted, by the amendment: Is it then perfectly fair to call the attention of the House from the consideration of this public danger, and its remedies,—from the machinations and arts of those who are preparing measures for the subversion of the state, and the overthrow of every constituted authority,—to the plans and objects of that portion of the peaceful and loyal subjects of this country, who respect the law and constitution, and are desirous of improving them? This latter description of persons are entitled to the most attentive and respectful consideration. However I may differ from them, on the subject of parliamentary reform, I consider their objects as honest, and their means of effecting them as constitutional. Whenever, at any proper time, and in any proper form, their claims shall be brought before Parliament, they should be listened to with attention, and with respect. Their proposals, if reasonable, should be yielded to; if not so, should be met by fair argument and calm discussion: and the result, in either event, will be satisfactory and conciliating. The people of England are a reasoning and reasonable people: but is it fair, either to them or to the country, to confound their cause and their objects, with the persons whom we now are called upon to deal with, whose undisguised aim is to pull down the entire fabric of our constitution, and to effect a revolution by force? Against this immediate and overwhelming danger it is the first duty of Parliament to provide. And to turn aside from the discharge of this urgent and paramount duty, to the discussion of subjects of inferior importance, and of distinct consideration, would be an abandonment of the interests of the country. When I see a revolutionary project ripe for execution—when I see that sedition and blasphemy are the instruments by which it works, and that open force is to be employed for its accomplishment,—I feel it to be trifling with the duties of the House, and with the safety of the country, to turn our view to any other object, until the terrors which hang over our existing establishments are first dispelled.

‘No person, I am happy to see, denies the existence of these dangers; but I think there is some tendency to underrate their extent, and to undervalue their consequence. It is said, that the public mind in general is sound: I trust and firmly believe it is so, I am convinced that the strength and spirit of the loyal subjects are sufficient to put down the enemies of law and of order; I therefore am apprehensive, not of revolution, but of the attempt at revolution, which I believe in  
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my conscience will be made, if not prevented by the vigilance and energy of Parliament : and what I contemplate with the deepest alarm is, the miseries which such an attempt, in its progress to certain and necessary failure, must produce.—If this mischief should once burst forth, I anticipate a series of horrors which must shake the safety and happiness of this country to its foundations.—The very circumstances which must ensure the ultimate failure of the enterprise aggravate its dangers. Revolution, always calamitous, yet, when pursued for some definite purpose, conducted by abilities, tempered by the admixture of rank and of property, may be effected, as it has before been in this country, without any incurable shock being given to the safety of persons or of property. But here is a revolution to be achieved by letting loose the physical force of the community against its constituted authorities ; a revolution for the sake of revolution ; to take away the property of the rich, and to distribute it among the rabble ; and this, too, no ordinary rabble, but one previously debauched by the unremitting dissemination of blasphemous libels, and freed from the restraints of moral or religious feeling. On this subject I feel sufficient confidence at once to express my opinion, without waiting for any of those documents which the noble Lord proposes to lay before the House. There are facts of public notoriety, known and seen by every man who does not choose to shut his eyes. Have not meetings been proposed for the purpose of assuming the functions which belong only to the sovereign power of the state—meetings, which, if they had been actually held, would have been acts of high treason ? When it was found that matters were not sufficiently ripe for this undisguised act of public rebellion, have not the same masses of the populace been again convened, under the direction of the same leaders, under the pretext of seeking universal suffrage and annual parliaments, —their very pretexts such as the constitution could not survive, if they were effectuated, but their real object being to overawe the constituted authorities by the display of their numerical strength, and to prepare for direct, immediate, forcible revolution ? Have we not seen the same itinerant mountebank, who set their powers in motion, publicly assisting at the orgies of the blasphemous wretch lately convicted ? and can we doubt that treason is the object, and that blasphemy and sedition are the means ? When I see these fiends in human shape endeavouring to rob their unhappy victims of all their consolations here, and of all their hopes hereafter,—when I see them with their levers placed under the great pillars of social order, and heaving the constitution from its foundation, I am rejoiced to see Parliament assembled. Our first duty is to convince these enemies of God and man, that within the walls of Parliament they can find no countenance ; and through the organ of Parliament to let them know, that nothing awaits them but indignant resistance from the great body of the people.—*Plunket*, pp. 6—10.

The following extract from Mr. Canning contains a miniature *whole-length* of the leaders of this conspiracy. He has just been shewing, with unanswerable force of reasoning, that the various local petitions for a parliamentary inquiry into the proceedings at Manchester,



Manchester, furnished little or no argument for such an inquiry, inasmuch as they were, for the most part, grounded on clear and glaring misapprehensions, both of law and fact. He then proceeds in a passage, some part of which may perhaps be thought to exhibit a sensibility justly edged by personal recollections.

‘Deduct, therefore, the amount of the impression made by these, and abundance of other similar fables; deduct the effect of the persuasion, (the assumed, uncontroverted, and unquestioned persuasion,) that the Manchester Meeting was a legal meeting; and then judge, whether public meetings, proceeding to discussion under such influences, could have decided with equity and temper; whether we should not do those meetings the greatest possible injustice if we were to imagine that they would, under better information, persevere in decisions so unfairly and surreptitiously obtained? No, Sir, it is not till all the meetings which assembled during the prevalence of these mistakes and delusions, shall have re-resolved all their Resolutions, with the full knowledge that the Manchester Meeting was *illegal*,—that the Magistrates were *not* “master manufacturers,”—that the swords of the yeomanry were *not* sharpened with a view to the 16th of August,—and that the horrible stories, of which that related by the Member for Norfolk is a specimen, were *not* true,—that we can have a pretence for granting a Parliamentary inquiry, on the ground that the country demands it.

‘Undoubtedly, Sir, the Meeting at Manchester was attended with great and grievous calamities. Much suffering was occasioned by it to all classes of the inhabitants of that place; and the loss of lives which occurred in the dispersion of the assembly must be deplored by every mind that has the smallest tincture of humanity. In deploring those occurrences, I yield to no man living. But I know how cautiously I must deal with matters of this kind. I know well the nature of the artifices too successfully practised by those who endeavour to pervert the public judgment by the slander of individual character. *Experto credite*. The process is of this kind:—An incendiary narrator of what passed at Manchester, affirms, perhaps, that “one hundred persons were slain.” Suppose, indignant at this extravagant falsehood, I answer, “No, no, not a hundred, the number of sufferers was six only.” “Six only!” is then the exclamation, “O barbarian! it is thus that you trifle with the sacrifice of human life!” This, Sir, is the common trick. It consists in first putting forth a monstrous exaggeration of calamity for the express purpose of inviting contradiction; and then holding up to public indignation the man who reduces the exaggeration to the reality, as if he were the unfeeling defender and approver of whatever part of the calamity he does not deny. The trick is at last found out; but it has unhappily too often done its work for the day, before detection. The agents who employ it know their lesson well. The school in which they learned it is that of the French Revolution. It is the old trick of 1794 and 1795; the too successful expedient of Marat and Robespierre. But, deplorable and extensive as the calamities of the 16th of August were, to whom are they to be attributed? Is it



it not to those, who actuated by selfish motives of ambition—(no, I will not say ambition; I will not squander a word often applied to nobler aspirations on such base designs)—is it not to those who seek mischief for mischief's sake;—who would let loose the whirlwind, though with the conscious incapacity to direct it;—who would lay the fabric of social order in ruin, not so much in the hope of rising upon that ruin, as for the satisfaction of contemplating the havoc and desolation which they had made;—who, outcasts of society, would revenge themselves upon society by scattering and dissolving the very elements of which it is composed;—Is it not to such persons,—to the assemblers of those alarming multitudes, under the preposterous pretence of petition or deliberation, but in fact for the purposes of intimidation and disorder,—that are to be justly attributed all the consequences which follow upon assemblages so wantonly congregated, and upon passions so wickedly inflamed? To *them* the widowed mother and orphan child must trace their miseries! On *their* heads be for ever fixed the responsibility of all the blood that has been shed.'—pp. 17—20.

Even in this powerful anathema, the speaker appears to us to have been, on the whole, rather sparing of imputation. He tells us that the *radical* gentlemen 'love mischief for mischief's sake.' As we have before said in this article, we are not able to think so well of them. A Penny-subscription is a very substantial reason why such patriots should love mischief. They are fortune-hunters, who will not court even deformity itself, until they have found out that she is well-portioned.

Our limits will not permit of our transcribing at length the convincing observations contained in these speeches, on the circumstances of the Manchester meeting, the conduct of the magistrates, and the approbation of that conduct by the government. Yet it would be unpardonable not to give some specimens. Lord Grenville, after reprobating the disposition shewn in too many parts of the country to prejudge the case of the magistrates, thus continues:

'Far different was the situation of the king's ministers: they had a regular and constitutional duty to perform. It would, in them, have been, not only an unworthy and base abandonment of all honourable feeling, but a positive dereliction of official trust, if they had withheld from the magistrates their judgment upon the conduct pursued in circumstances so critical. That judgment they were bound to form, and they were bound to act upon it; they were responsible for it to Parliament and to the laws; and it was their duty to communicate it to those whom the Constitution has placed under their direction. If your Lordships could doubt this principle, I would entreat you to consider the reverse of the proposition. Imagine, then, for a moment, that, instead of a reluctant interposition for the maintenance of the public peace, against a tumultuary and menacing array, there had been the most open and wanton violation of unquestionable right; that the ma-

gistrates, for instance, had dispersed by force the freeholders of their county, peaceably and regularly assembled under the authority of the sheriff, and in obedience to the king's writ, for the choice of their representatives in parliament—Would your Lordships endure to be told that, in such a case, the king's secretary of state had remained silent? Would you not require it to be proved to you, that not a moment had been lost by the servants of the crown, both in condemning and in repressing this outrageous infraction of the constitution? And if it be the duty of persons placed in such stations to convey censure where censure is due, who will be found to argue that the more pleasing duty of expressing merited approbation is alone to be withheld from them?

‘And in this view of the case, my Lords, let me now beseech you to turn your attention for a moment from its general principles, such as I have hitherto endeavoured to establish them, to the actual situation and real conduct of the individuals most concerned in it: of those gentlemen who have received from the ministers of their sovereign this testimony of public gratitude, but whom it is now proposed to your Lordships to hold out to the world as the first objects of your suspicion and jealousy.

‘If there be one among the many noble institutions of this country, which can with more confidence than any other be exhibited to foreign nations as a matter of exclusive triumph to the British name, it is the manner in which local justice is administered, especially in our counties, by the persons who gratuitously undertake that task, under the king's commission of the peace. I need not describe, and no words could magnify the labour, the self-devotion, the pure benevolence, the unspotted integrity, with which this duty is discharged. The fact is universally admitted; all men of liberal and enlightened minds repose the fullest confidence in the proceedings of this upright and truly honourable magistracy. The law itself establishes in their behalf, from long experience of their conduct, a presumption of pure intention, and even a favourable construction of error, such as may occasionally, though it rarely does, arise from unprofessional education, or from human infirmity.

‘But the merit of the individuals, whom this motion would place almost in a state of accusation, does not rest merely on this general ground of habitual and honourable service. It was explained to us in our last debate, but it is of the utmost importance to be repeated, that this duty was undertaken and performed by them in no common manner. During the course of last summer the two great counties of Lancashire and Cheshire were exposed to imminent danger of tumult and violence, from the effect of those seditious and traitorous machinations of which I have already spoken. In such a situation, their security, and most especially the security of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester, required a more than usual degree of vigilance, and a constant and unremitting attention and superintendence. And for this special service a committee was formed out of the whole body of the truly respectable magistracy of those counties. It must be remembered that the danger, though more urgent in a few particu-  
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lar places, was not confined to them, but was extensively and widely diffused. In such circumstances, therefore, these gentlemen, in the same manner as all the other peaceable and loyal inhabitants of this whole district, had the deepest interest in watching each of them over the tranquillity and safety of their own immediate neighbourhood. In a season of so much alarm, the care of their own properties, the protection of their own houses, families, and dependants, would naturally demand their constant presence, and personal exertions. But these considerations they disregarded; their houses and their families they left to the protection of their country; they assembled at Manchester; and there they continued to hold their sittings, because there was the chief root of the evil—there the scene of greatest peril—there the utmost certainty of benefitting the public by their patriotic and voluntary labours. With such feelings, and such conduct, your lordships may well believe that personal danger was the subject which least occupied their thoughts. But they also knew that there were other perils to be encountered: they could not but feel the heavy responsibility to which they would thus be subjected; they could not be ignorant, that if the painful necessity should arise of employing force for the maintenance of the public peace, no industry would be spared, no artifice, no calumny untried, which could excite the prejudices, or inflame the feelings of a humane and generous people. They were sure that their motives would be misrepresented, their actions vilified, their characters defamed. But they suffered no such apprehensions to deter them from rendering to their country what they justly deemed a most important and necessary service. They relied, first, on the uprightness of their own intentions, and on the consciousness of that pure and public spirit, by which alone they were actuated; they thought perhaps that they might securely trust to the dispassionate and impartial judgment of their fellow-subjects; they certainly looked with confidence to the honourable feelings of your Lordships, and to the well-earned favour and protection of the British parliament.

‘ In the execution of this service, their forbearance was long and enduring; but the time at length arrived when it could no longer be maintained. To have neglected to interpose against the dangers justly apprehended from the meeting of the 16th of August, would, in their view of honour and duty, have been a manifest violation of both, and a total abandonment of the awful trust which they had undertaken under circumstances of such peculiar obligation. They were well apprized of the nature and extent of the previous preparations made for that assembly; they were eye-witnesses of its menacing array; no doubt was left on their own minds of its real character and tendency; their apprehensions of its too probable result were confirmed and strengthened by those of the peaceable inhabitants of Manchester; their protection was demanded, and it could not legally be refused: And, had they hesitated on that day to assert and to enforce the law, he must, indeed, be a bold man who will venture to affirm that the consequences of such an error could ever have been retrieved.

‘ The tumultuous and insurrectionary spirit which produced that  
meeting,

meeting, was not, however, extinguished by its dispersion: There was no hope that it could be so. The mischief continued to extend itself, and the dangers in which so large and so important a district of this kingdom was thus involved, have made it ultimately necessary that Parliament should be assembled to provide effectually for our common security.

‘ In this situation we are now met. The eyes of all are upon us. There is no state in Europe which does not feel its own security involved in that of the British government. There is no individual, capable of appreciating the real interests of society,—no friend of order,—no lover of virtue,—but looks with anxious solicitude to the conduct of parliament in this great conjuncture. What, then, would be the impressions of mankind;—what would be the appearance which we should exhibit to this country, and to the world, if our first step for the security of lawful government should be to discredit and to degrade our upright and honourable magistracy? What would be thought of our wisdom,—what of our justice,—should we turn aside our eyes from the violators of the public peace, and fix them with jealous suspicion on its champions and asserters; exerting the great powers with which we are invested for the public safety, not against the savage depredators of the fold, but against its faithful and intrepid guardians? I have heard of many instances of public ingratitude: History is full of unrequited merit,—of services repaid by oppression and injury. But, I trust, we shall suffer no such example to stain our own records,—no such stigma to be fixed on the proceedings of this day. No, my Lords! Respect the feelings of honourable men, who have well discharged an arduous and painful duty! Treat with affection and kindness those branches of the public defence, to which you are already so much indebted! Inspire them with fresh confidence in themselves, and with fresh attachment to the constitution and legislature of their country! On them is our firmest reliance; in their zeal,—in their exertions,—is our best hope of security against every difficulty which now surrounds us, and against every danger which we may still be destined to encounter.’—*Lord Grenville*, pp. 43—51.

The topic which forms the ground-work of this extract, has been touched by Mr. Canning also, and in a lofty strain at once of constitutional feeling and senatorian eloquence. It is introduced by some unanswerable observations, (a part of which only we can afford to insert,) on the injustice and absurdity of instituting a parliamentary inquiry into the proceedings at Manchester:

‘ There is still another view, however, of the proposed investigation,—its effect on the character of the House of Commons. I do not attribute to the right hon. gentleman who moved the amendment, the design of bringing the house into disgrace: but I must say that, if the amendment had been proposed by any of the—I am at a loss how to denominate them—the white hatted gentry, I should suspect that they had a double game in view. For if, by such evidence as has been described, the House should be surprised into a decision against the magistrates,

magistrates, then the vengeance of the radical reformers would be fully gratified. If, on the contrary, the magistrates should be discharged of all blame by a vote of the House, there would then be afforded a new ground of clamour against the House of Commons. Either result would be delicious to those gentlemen. In the one event, they would crush the men whose firmness had defeated their machinations; in the other, they would gain a new power for undermining the Constitution. But, as the House itself cannot possibly have either of those objects in view, I trust, that they will not hesitate to put an end to the alternative by rejecting the amendment.

‘ So great is the inconvenience of involving this House unnecessarily in judicial investigation, that I confess I can conceive few cases, except those which require the exercise of the power of impeachment, in which the interposition of the House of Commons is not attended with a risk of interrupting the course of justice, and of throwing discredit on the ordinary administration of the laws. What can be a stronger proof of this tendency than the sort of use which an honourable gentleman has thought himself warranted to make, in the debate of this day, of the short-hand report of an unfinished law proceeding,—the Coroner’s Inquest at Oldham? What business has the House of Commons with that proceeding,—which is now under revision by the proper authority, the Court of King’s Bench?—or what advantage can be derived to the cause of law or liberty by the attempt to cast odium on judicial proceedings? The ill example that is sometimes set in this House, is followed but too closely elsewhere. The Coroner’s Inquest is, to be sure, a tribunal of secondary dignity: but when before was any Magistrate, however inferior in dignity, braved and brow-beaten, day after day, upon the bench? When before was the majesty of justice insulted in her own temple, as has been lately practised in courts of still higher—of the highest—authority!—I trust that there is not in this House, or in the country, a warmer friend of rational liberty than myself; but amongst the first elements of liberty I have always understood to be the separation of administrative and judicial functions; and every attempt to unite them in the same hands must, in my opinion, be attended with danger to the Constitution.

‘ But it is not only the courts of law, (which may, perhaps, heretofore have been reviled by those on whom it was their duty to inflict the penalties of justice,—though never before so openly and grossly insulted) —it is not the courts of law only that in these days are held up to suspicion and hatred:—but other, the most favourite institutions of British judicial administration; institutions which are peculiar to England, and which excite, beyond all others, the admiration and envy of foreign nations. Even the sacred name of juries has been tainted with insinuation; and the unpaid magistracy of the country are attempted to be degraded in the public esteem. As if renouncing the high station which we maintain in Europe, as if anxious to deter those nations which have followed our steps in victory from imitating (as they are eagerly bent on doing) our example in civil life, we have persons among us who are busily employed in defaming those invaluable institutions

which are at once the pride and the safeguard of our civil polity. Depend upon it, Sir, if these attempts should be successful, the evil which they entail will be altogether irreparable. One of the most beautiful of our moral poets has said, of the lower classes of the agricultural part of the community—that

“Princes and Lords may flourish, or may fade;  
A breath can make them as a breath has made:  
But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,  
When once destroy'd can never be supplied.”

‘So say I of the higher ranks of that same portion of the community—the unpaid magistracy of the country.—I do not dread the inroads attempted to be made on the constitution of parliament, with half the horror that I do the efforts to disparage the character of that magistracy. A new House of Commons might be elected. The monarch might create new peers. New statesmen would be found to conduct the affairs of government, if the present race of public men were swept from the earth. But once “destroy” that which “can never be supplied,” the voluntary and gratuitous dispensation of justice; once sour the public against that, perhaps the sole, remnant of natural authority; once thoroughly disgust and dishearten that thankless self-devotion, that unbought sacrifice of time and trouble, that benevolent homage of power and wealth to the interests of the humble and the poor, which characterize the country magistracy;—let that connecting link between the higher and the lower orders of society be once broken,—and by that single blow more will be done to disjoint the state, than could be accomplished by the radical reformers, with all their outrageous declarations, and with all their pikes—when they shall use them.’—*Canning*, p. 27—31.

Sir James Mackintosh having contended, as the reports in the newspapers inform us, that parliament alone could adequately conduct an inquiry into the misdeeds of the Manchester Magistrates, Mr. Plunket first, and then Mr. Canning, in the following pleasant and conclusive passages, seem to have happily disposed of one of the arguments by which that proposition was supported.

‘But the honourable and learned member says, that the Court of King’s Bench will not interfere, unless the magistrate acted wilfully; and that he might commit an error which would not subject him to punishment: Is this, then, a ground for parliamentary interference, to stop the course of law, and subject the public functionary to an extraordinary visitation of public vengeance? Are the different points of the argument of the honourable and learned member altogether reconcilable? When his object is to make out a case so important as to call for parliamentary inquiry, he states the conduct of the magistrates as a daring violation of the subject’s privileges, a triumph of authority over law, a foul stain upon our laws, forming a black era in the annals of our country; but when it becomes an object to shew that there may be a case in which the courts of law would be incompetent to investigate the truth,

truth, then this foul deed, this portentous violation of the laws and of the constitution, dwindles into an error in judgment, too slight and too pardonable to warrant the interference of the Court of King's Bench. Is such an error, if it exists, I will ask, a case for parliamentary inquiry? Is this the way in which the conduct of magistrates is to be examined by parliament?—*Plunket*, pp. 14, 15.

‘ My honourable and learned friend is far too wise and too wary to pledge himself to an opinion in favour of the *legality* of the meeting of the 16th of August; he knows well, moreover, that if any excesses were committed in the dispersion of even an illegal meeting, the tribunals of the law are open for redress: but being desirous, at the same time, of making out a case to shew that the proceedings at Manchester ought to be made the subject of parliamentary inquiry, he has been driven to the most whimsical refinements in support of this proposition. Others have stated the magnitude of the question, as a cogent reason for the intervention of parliament; but my learned friend contends, on the contrary, that the subject is of so subtle a nature, that the searching minuteness of parliamentary investigation can alone bear upon it with effect. The powers of the House, like the proboscis of an elephant, are now to be expanded to embrace the largest objects; and again to be contracted, that they may lay hold of the smallest. They are to tear up an oak, or to pick up a pin. Others have charged upon the magistrates the most atrocious wickedness,—falsehood, treachery, wilful breach of law, and deliberate murder;—and have contended, that the bar of the House of Commons is the only tribunal whose jurisdiction is sufficiently grand and awful to comprehend the enormity of such crimes. My honourable and learned friend, on the contrary, suggests that the guilt of the magistrates may possibly be no more than a small error in discretion; and it is therefore that *he* thinks the bar of the House of Commons the fit tribunal, as being the only one whose touch is fine enough to handle an offence so delicate and evanescent!’—*Can-ning*, pp. 20—22.

The *legality* of the Manchester meeting was of course one of the topics the most copiously discussed in both houses. In the extracts that ensue, the question seems to be set at rest for ever.

‘ Doctrines, new to my ears, have indeed been recently promulgated on this subject. The notion, wild as it is, seems actually to have prevailed in some quarters, that no assembly of any part of the people of this realm can be deemed illegal, be they armed or unarmed, arrayed or unarrayed, from whatever quarters collected, in whatever numbers, or under whatever previous or attendant circumstances; unless the fact of present violence, or at least, the intention of present violence can be proved against them. I have no pretensions to deep skill in the science of our law; but directly opposite is this doctrine to all which I either learnt in my youth, or have at any time since collected, either from books, or from living authorities; utterly repugnant to any lights which our own experience or history affords,



and in manifest contradiction to the plainest principles, by which all civil societies are connected and upheld. I have been taught that, independently of actual or meditated violence, every sort of menace, intimidation, and array of force, are in themselves abundantly sufficient to stamp on such proceedings the plainest characters of illegality. Every assembly held in *terrorem populi*, the English law, as I have always been instructed, does in express terms declare to be unlawful. No such menace, no such intimidation, no such array, have ever yet been tolerated under the British Government. And it is among the first elements of all political science, that men combine in civil society, to obtain for themselves and for their families, not only the safe enjoyment of life, and property, and peaceful occupation, but also the full and undisturbed confidence and assurance of that safety. Banish this principle from the British Constitution, establish the contrary doctrine, if any one can now be found to maintain it, and your Government must thenceforth, in self-defence, assume an attitude purely military, armed in never-ceasing preparation to meet a danger perpetually arrayed against it; while your people must, for the same cause, revert to the condition of savages, relying for personal security, not on the warranty of law, and the protection of a common government, but on the exertions of individual strength, or on the separate support of partial associations.—*Lord Grenville*, pp. 33—35.

‘The general and broad principle is unequivocally laid down. Actual safety, and full assurance of safety, are alike the right of all; the right of the individual, and the right of the Public. It is for Magistrates, and Courts, and Juries, to apply this universal rule to the infinitely-varying circumstances of each particular occasion.

‘Where such a discretion was to be exercised by so many different persons, and in so many various instances, we cannot be surprised to find some seeming contrariety both of opinion and of conduct; the result, sometimes perhaps of real differences between cases apparently similar, and sometimes of the opposite judgments formed on the same circumstances, even by the most enlightened men. The mere want of uniformity affords therefore no ground for censure, nor any presumption of misconduct. But I will not disguise my own impressions on the subject. The facts themselves are not fully known to us: we cannot, therefore, speak decisively of the conduct to which they led. It does, however, appear to me that the indulgence of the Magistrate has, in almost all these instances, been carried to the very utmost extent, which was consistent with the public safety; and on more than one occasion, I think it has been pushed to an extreme, productive of considerable evil. It is no light matter, to have witnessed these repeated and ostentatious defiance of Law and Government, even where they have not as yet been followed by actual violence. It is no pleasing recollection, that our greatest manufacturing towns, and this Metropolis itself, the capital and seat of our Empire, have, even for the shortest time, been placed, as it were, in a state of siege: their business interrupted, their industry suspended; waiting in fearful expectation of impending tumult, or looking for protection to troops collected with difficulty,

sculty, and harassed with preparations and marches, as in the presence of an enemy.

‘The wisdom of this forbearance may well be questioned, though I am sure we all sympathize in the kind and benevolent feelings in which it originated. But it would be strange perversion of reasoning to maintain, that because it had been pushed thus far, it was in future to have no limit; that because so much had been tolerated, all was thenceforth to be permitted. We have neglected the out-works, must we therefore surrender the citadel? We have disregarded the approaches of the storm, must we take no measures of security when it rages with redoubled violence? Where danger was less imminent, your Magistrates had been content to overlook it. Does it therefore follow, that no menace, no defiance, no hostility, no nearer and more urgent peril, could justify their final resolution, to interpose for the safety of a great commercial town, and for the tranquillity of a populous and wealthy district? If such be your opinion, the whole foundations of our Government are already broken up! Let it then be openly avowed! Let us not deceive our country with the semblance of authorities, which are no longer to exist. Let it be declared and known that the King’s Commission of the Peace is henceforth to be unattended with any power, or any duty, to give protection to his faithful and loyal subjects!’—*Lord Grenville*, p. 37—40.

‘With the exception of the Honourable Baronet\* opposite, no one who has touched on the meeting at Manchester, has spoken of the designs of the movers of that meeting, manifested not only by their own declarations, but by all their preparations, their emblems and their array, as other than most wicked and indefensible. The Honourable Baronet, indeed, has talked of the flags unfurled on that occasion, as mere matters of parade. But who does not know, that banners, ribbons, and other such devices, may be as clear indications of purpose as words? When some years ago, an orange cockade was worn, on particular days, in Ireland, (much more generally than I believe and hope it is at present,) would it have been an answer to the complaints against such a practice, to say, “What signifies a yellow ribbon?”—Such things have great signification. Who but the Honourable Baronet can doubt, that the flags of the meeting at Manchester meant defiance? What could the inscription “Equal Representation or Death” intend, but that those displaying it were solicitous for that which was incompatible with the Constitution, and that they were ready to purchase it with their blood? Can such a meeting be legal? Is it possible that any one of the contrivers or abettors of it could seriously imagine it to be so? Can it be deemed so, in common sense? The common law (as has been truly said by the Right Hon. and learned gentleman,†) is the perfection of common sense: but what law or what sense can consider as peaceable and legal, meetings of forty or fifty thousand persons, convened by no known authority, and marching together in military array, at which doctrines subversive of the Constitution were promulgated

\* Sir Francis Burdett.

† Mr. Plunket.

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without disguise, and the determination to carry those doctrines into effect by physical force was audaciously avowed?

'I will borrow, on this point, an illustration with which the speech of this Hon. and learned friend has furnished me.\* My Hon. and learned friend has told us, that Lancashire has at different periods been the seat of different kinds of disaffection; of Jacobitism, in the last century, as of Jacobinism at present. Now, I will ask my Hon. and learned friend; nay, I will appeal to any one of the Hon. gentlemen opposite,—to any Whig amongst them,—for an answer to this question, —If in the year 1715, or in the year 1745, or in any year between those two periods, fifty or twenty or ten thousand Lancashire Jacobites had assembled by beat of drum, on the 10th of June, with white roses in their hats, and with the motto "Legitimate Monarchy" embroidered on their standards, would that have been a legal assembly? If any unfortunate Tory had, after such an occurrence, stood up in Parliament, and protested that those symbols were perfectly innocent of any improper meaning;—that white was no colour—and that the words "Legitimate Monarchy" referred, beyond all question, to the Royal Family just established by law;—would he have been listened to with credulity and complacency by the Whig Powers of that day? Would he not rather have been reviled as a driveller or traitor; and a new Whig law have been passed for the suppression of such innocent assemblages, at least as strong as the riot act itself? And pray, what is the difference between the two proceedings, that of Manchester in August 1819, and that which I have imagined as taking place in the same county, in 1715 or 1745? Why, that the one would have indicated a design of changing the reigning dynasty; while the other is manifestly directed against the whole frame of the constitution. Any attempt to bring the multitude, and the menaces, and the symbols, and the array of the Manchester meeting within the pale of law, is as fond and as futile as would have been the attempt of a Tory Opposition to assign to the Jacobite mob, the character of loyalty to the Hanover succession.'—*Canning*, pp. 32—35.

Mr. Plunket, in his easy and unconstrained, but most impressive and even affecting peroration, briefly, and with his accustomed terseness, handles the same argument.

'Indeed I have not heard any member assert the legality of the Manchester meeting. I am confident that no man acquainted with the laws and constitution of the country will venture to do so. The house, I trust, will excuse me, if I trespass a little further on their patience, by stating my opinion, as to these public meetings. The right of the people of this country to meet, for the purpose of expressing their opinions on any subject connected with their own individual interest, or with the public welfare, is beyond all question; it is a sacred privilege, belonging to the most humble, as fully as to the highest subject in the community: they have a right to the full expression, and to the free communication of such sentiments; to interchange

\* Sir James Mackintosh.

them with their fellow subjects; to animate and catch fire, each from the other. I trust that to such rights I never shall be found an enemy. But I must say, that these rights, like all others, to be exercised in civil society, must be subject to such modification and restriction as to render them compatible with other rights, equally acknowledged, and equally sacred. Every subject of this realm has an undoubted right to the protection of the laws, to the security of his person and his property, and still more, to the full assurance of such safety; and I have no hesitation in asserting, that any assembly of the people, held under such circumstances as to excite in the minds of the king's peaceable and loyal subjects reasonable grounds of alarm, in this respect are illegal assemblies, and liable to be dispersed as such. I think it important that it should be understood, that these rights are restricted, not merely to this extent; namely, that they must not assemble for an illegal purpose; that they must not assemble with force, and arms; that they must not use seditious language; that they must not revile the laws or public functionaries; but, beyond all this, that they must not assemble under such circumstances, whether of numbers or otherwise, as to excite well-grounded terror in the minds of their fellow subjects, or to disturb their tranquil and assured enjoyment of the protection of the laws, free from all reasonable apprehension of force or violence. A vulgar notion may have prevailed, that if the avowed and immediate purpose of such meetings is not illegal, or if they have not arms in their hands, or if no force is actually used, or immediately threatened, the assembly is legal:—no opinion can be more unfounded. And I do not fear contradiction from any constitutional lawyer, when I assert, that any assembly of the people, whether armed or unarmed; whether using or threatening to use force, or not doing so; and whether the avowed object is illegal or legal, if held in such numbers, or with such language, or emblems, or deportment, as to create well-grounded terror in the king's liege subjects for their lives, their persons, or their property, is an illegal assembly, and may be dispersed as such. Such has been the law, as laid down by the ablest of our lawyers, and of our judges, from the earliest period of our jurisprudence, and in the best times of our history and constitution, before the revolution, and since the revolution, independent of the Riot Act, or of any statutable enactment, by the principles of our common law, which is always founded on the principles of common sense. The application of this principle to each particular case must always be a matter of discretion; but, in cases like the present, it cannot admit of doubt or difficulty. When meetings become too strong for the civil power to deal with them, the laws must prohibit them; if not, recourse must necessarily be had to military force. When the citizen becomes too strong for the law, the magistrate of necessity becomes a soldier; and those who justify these unrestricted meetings are the worst enemies to the liberties of their country, and lay the foundation of a military despotism. If bodies of the people, not convened by any public functionary, but called together by mountebanks, whose only title is their impudence and folly, are entitled to assemble,  
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not in thousands, but in tens of thousands; to march, with banners displayed, in military array, into the hearts of populous cities; and if the laws are not competent to assure the people of this country against the panic and dismay excited by such proceedings, there is an end to the constitution.—I implore the House to protect the country from the effect of those desolating plans which are now in operation. Even though they should not break out in actual rebellion, their mischiefs are beyond calculation. The principles of respect for the laws and orders of the state, the reverence that is due to the sacred obligations of religion, these are not the results of momentary feelings, which may be thrown aside and resumed at pleasure; they are habits which, if once removed, cannot easily be restored. If those sacred sources, from which are the issues of public happiness and virtue, are once tainted, how is their purity to be restored? I have reason to believe, that the blasphemies, which have excited the horror of all good men, have been fashioned by these miscreants into primers for the education of children, that these helpless beings, in receiving the first elements of knowledge, may be inoculated with this pestilence. I again implore the House to act with decision and energy, while yet it is in their power. If the great foundations of public safety are once shaken, the united exertions of all the honest men of every party may come too late. On these grounds I deprecate the amendment, as calculated to give encouragement to the worst enemies of the state; and cordially concur in the original address.—*Plunket*, pp. 21—24.

Having given the concluding passage of Mr. Plunket, we are tempted to add those of Lord Grenville and Mr. Canning.

‘Let us not deceive ourselves. Never can our commercial prosperity maintain itself under the lawless dominion of self-constituted and tumultuary assemblies. Never can it endure the rapacious and vindictive despotism of mutually conflicting demagogues. To other shores, to more peaceful countries, to better-ordered communities, the trade and manufactures of Great Britain would, in such circumstances, speedily remove themselves. They were first attracted to this happy Country by that security which our institutions alone could then afford to them: greatly have they flourished under a government, which has defended them alike from the unjust aggression of power, and from the capricious tyranny of the multitude: they would vanish like a dream at the first aspect of revolutionary terror; they would fly far away from tumult and violence, from plunder and confiscation, from massacres, and from judicial murders!

‘They would vanish! and what would then be the condition of your manufacturing population? What means would then remain of alleviating their present distress, what hope of terminating their future misery?

‘If, therefore, on no other ground; if, from no larger and deeper views of policy and justice, such as may best become the legislators of a mighty empire; yet, for the single purpose of preventing these unhappy men from aggravating and perpetuating their own distress, let  
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me implore your lordships to step between them and their betrayers. Interpose your high authority to rescue them from this destruction. Take speedy, take effectual measures to give peace and security to those disturbed and agitated districts of your country. On peace and security depends the prosperity of all; there is no other prospect of reviving commerce to the manufacturer, no other hope of renewed employment to the artisan.

‘In every view which can be taken of our situation, there is but one course which you can now pursue. Do you think that present distress is the sole cause of all this evil? What, then, must be the first steps towards its removal? The discontinuance of alarm;—the punishment of sedition;—the vigorous and instant suppression of all that produces, and all that threatens, disturbance. Do you look to the permanent protection of your constitution and government? Then, also, must the same determination be adopted. You must give energy and vigour to the laws: you must uphold and strengthen the authority of magistrates and courts of justice: you must protect the well-affected, encourage the loyal, and animate the whole body of the British nation, by the best of all exhortations—the example of your own resolution and constancy!’

‘And, with this opinion, thus decidedly entertained, thus unreservedly expressed, let me finish what I had to submit to your lordships on the present occasion. I little expected to have troubled you so much at length. But I have obeyed the impulse of an irresistible duty; the last, perhaps, that I may ever be called upon to discharge within these walls. Whether it will be so I know not; for, who can now anticipate the events which are impending over us? But how can I, under any circumstances, better close my long service in this place, than by an effort, earnest, however weak, to uphold the laws, and to preserve the tranquillity, of my country? With what sentiment nearer to my heart can I conclude these labours, than by finally conjuring your lordships to guard, as you have hitherto done, with unremitted vigilance, with unshaken firmness, the sacred deposit of the British Constitution? It has been the work of ages; formed on no preconceived plan of human policy; resting on no delusive principles of imagined right; the happy result of a long series of unforeseen and uncontrollable events; the produce of many jarring and contending elements, combined and harmonized by the tried experience, by the unwearied diligence, and by the traditional, yet cautious wisdom of a Legislature better adapted than any other yet known in the history of mankind, to promote the happiness of the community, whose interest it administers. Such is our government; the boast of Englishmen,—the admiration and envy of the world! Such may it long continue! And wise, indeed, should that man be, who hopes to improve it by the preconceived theories, and baseless speculations, of his own imagination.’—*Lord Grenville*, pp. 59—62.

In transcribing the concluding portion of Mr. Canning's speech, we cannot refuse ourselves the high gratification of comprising  
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in the extract the whole of his observations on Parliamentary Reform; a topic bearing no distant relationship to the question under debate; and to the consideration of which his own attention had been expressly challenged by more than one preceding speaker. He treats it with his accustomed power and eloquence; dissecting, with masterly precision, the perplexed views of the reformers; and throwing, over a hackneyed and somewhat vulgar subject, a grace and vivacity which it could have derived from no other orator of the time.

‘Reformation (I speak not here of partial remedies applied—as this House is in the habit of applying them from time to time—to particular instances of detected corruption, but of a general systematic reformation) must be of one of two sorts. It may be a restoration, upon the original principles of the institution to be reformed, to the state in which it stood at some former time, and from which it is alleged to have degenerated; or, it may be a re-construction of the institution on principles altogether new.

‘My first question to the proposer of such general reformation therefore is, “Which of these two modes have you in view?” If the answer be, “Restoration to what the House of Commons was in former times;” I then request that the period may be specified at which the House of Commons was, according to the Reformer, in the perfection to which he wishes to restore it. If, on the other hand, the answer be, that it is intended to re-construct the House on new principles; then, I think, it is not too much to ask that those principles shall be clearly defined, before we are required to take a single practical step towards the abolition of the existing frame of the House of Commons.

‘Even after all these explanations had been given, I should think myself at liberty to compare the dangers of a change with the advantages of the change specifically proposed. But, without these preliminary explanations, without knowing exactly what is the nature and extent of the change intended, I should think that to countenance any abstract declaration of the expediency of a change, would be madness.

‘I differ from some gentlemen who have spoken in this debate, in my belief as to the degree in which the desire for parliamentary reform prevails throughout the nation. I very much doubt whether the desire prevails beyond the class of determined reformers,—except, perhaps, among timid and indolent persons, who, untaught by experience, or fearful of exertion, imagine that concession to an invader is the way to peace. With the turbulent description of reformers, it is agreed on all hands, there can be no dallying or compromise. To attempt to conciliate them would be utterly hopeless. And I repeat, I do not believe the sound part of the community to be at all widely infected by the love of change. To use a figure of Mr. Burke’s, I will not mistake the importunate chink of a few grasshoppers chirping under a fern bush, for the voice of the lordly oxen that stray in sober tranquillity over the surface of the field.

‘I must fairly say, however, that if I could once bring myself to admit



admit the premises which the honourable baronet lays down, I should acknowledge his conclusion from them to be more logical than that of those who call themselves moderate reformers. The latter affirm the existence of a wide-spreading corruption as broadly as the honourable baronet. But the honourable baronet advises a new construction of the House; while the moderate reformers profess to be satisfied with some very trifling alteration. Now, if the disease be as great and as malignant as it is described, I could not be satisfied with so partial a remedy. But I do not admit such to be the extent and malignity of the disease. I do not admit, for instance, that the close boroughs, against which so much has been said, and which are the most obvious and striking anomalies, in a plan of representation theoretically considered, are by any means a rotten and gangrened part of the Constitution, to be cut off without mercy or remorse. I think them not only defensible, but serviceable. This opinion, Sir, I hold at least disinterestedly. I can have no fear that Liverpool should be involved in any plan of disfranchisement. And I protest, I believe, that the administration of which I am a member, would not lose, but would benefit, by the abolition of the close-borough representation. No small proportion of those boroughs is in the hands of our opponents. If the boroughs of Knarborough, of Tavistock, of Horsham, of Winchelsea, of Peterborough, were disfranchised, and the right of election were transferred to more populous places—to Birmingham, to Manchester, to Sheffield, to Leeds;—I really do not believe that his Majesty's ministers would lose numbers in this House; on the contrary, I believe that they would receive more support than at present. But I should regret very much if, by such a measure, the House should be deprived of so many of the great lights\* which I see in the opposite quarter of the horizon.

\* The House, and the right honourable gentleman, will do me the justice to acknowledge, that I have stated my opinions on this question without prejudice, without passion, without any personal or party bias. I think now, as I always have thought, that the constitution of the House of Commons is practically beneficial, though I do not pretend that it is conformable to any uniform theory. If I am asked for instance, why 658 is a more proper number of members than 657 or 659?—I confess myself at a loss to answer the question. It is the collective character of the House which I regard; and I maintain that in its aggregate capacity, and in its general operation, it faithfully represents not only the general interests of the kingdom, but the particular interests of every assignable portion of it; and that it follows, not precipitately, but deliberately and considerately, the real wishes, opinions, and feelings, of the people.

\* The gentlemen who oppose the government, contend indeed on all occasions, that they are right, and that ministers are wrong; and that the House of Commons, agreeing with the ministers, are therefore wrong with them, and ought, like them, to be sent about their busi-

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\* Mr. Tierney, Sir James Mackintosh, Mr. J. P. Grant, Mr. Brougham, Mr. Scarlett, &c. are among the representatives for the boroughs enumerated by Mr. Canning.

ness. But this is mere assertion; and is, in truth, a very short way of disposing of a very complicated question. Do these gentlemen, who are in a minority in this House, find themselves in a majority in the country? They will not say so; they cannot think so. Take, for example, the question of the late war. Have they any doubt that, through the whole course of that war, (to which they now, by the way, attribute all our distresses,) a majority—an immense majority—of the nation were of the same way of thinking with the majorities of the two Houses of parliament? Do they doubt that, in that glorious war, in which England saved Europe, and with Europe saved herself, her government was enabled to effect these mighty purposes, not only by a confiding parliament, but by a concurring people? To say that such a war was, or could be, carried on in contradiction to the wishes of the country,—that it was a war against the people,—is absurd. A war of twenty years! accompanied with privations and sacrifices never before heard of! and all cheerfully borne by a people, reluctant and unconsenting, insensible to the demands of their own security, and deaf to the shouts of triumphant valour!—borne, too, without murmur or remonstrance!—the statement refutes itself. Gentlemen know that it does so. They know that the war was undertaken for the destruction of tyranny, and for the vindication of the liberties of mankind. They know that the glory acquired to England, and the interest felt in that glory by the people of England, were as great, as the majorities in parliament were overwhelming; and they know that those parliamentary majorities were but the express image of the sentiments of the nation.

‘There is another consideration which induces me to distrust the honourable baronet’s assumption of a general popularity for the doctrines of which he is the champion. It is, that this question of parliamentary reform is never eagerly agitated, unless when some poignant, though passing, difficulties assail the country. This was notoriously the case at the first promulgation of the doctrines of reform, towards the end of the American war. It was the case in 1793, when the desolating principles of the French revolution, and its tremendous military successes disquieted sober minds with an apprehension of ruin to the kingdom. It was the case in 1797, at the period of the mutiny at the Nore; and again in 1798, during the height of the disturbances in Ireland. In 1810 and 1812, the question of reform was indeed brought forward, but without exciting much interest, or receiving any material support either within doors or without; and from the latter period it slept until the year before last, when the honourable baronet burst upon us with the elaborate plan of Major Cartwright. To that admirable system, and to the peculiar doctrines of that patriarch of reform, I consider the honourable baronet as inviolably pledged. He is the undoubted and sole heir of the venerable major. I hope, that when that system and those doctrines shall descend to him by right of inheritance, he will enjoy them to as full a maturity of age and intellect as his predecessor; and that he will finally hand them down unimpaired to some successor equally gifted with himself, but doomed to

to be, equally with himself, unsupported and hopeless in the prosecution of them.

‘ Beside this plan of the honourable baronet, I am not aware of any specific proposition for reform now before the public—except the threatened one, from the other side of the House, for shortening the duration of parliaments. It is now, Sir, about one hundred years since the whigs made parliaments septennial from triennial. During the first half century after that change they monopolized the administration of the government. So far, all went well. But for nearly the whole of the last fifty years, the whigs have been out of office. Are they anxious to try whether they may better their chance by undoing the work of their own hands, and returning to triennial parliaments ?

‘ Now, Sir, as to triennial parliaments, I confess I object to them—anti-reformer as I am :—but if I were a radical reformer, I should object to them infinitely more. On my own part I object to them for all the reasons so often urged in debate against the repeal of the septennial act, in the course of the twenty years that followed its enactment ; reasons, I admit, of expediency rather than of principle. But as a reformer, I should reject with indignation an attempt to delude me with a specious appearance of regeneration : calculated to aggravate in effect that very inequality of representation of which the reformers particularly complain. The objects of their strongest antipathy we know are the close boroughs, in defence of which I have ventured to say a few unpopular words : they hold it an abomination, that Tavistock should return by nomination as many members as York or Bristol or Liverpool by free election. But what could so much enhance the advantage of Tavistock over York, or Bristol, or Liverpool, as increasing the frequency of elections ? The trouble, the anxiety, the expense—the lawful expense, I mean—of a contested election for a populous place, are no light matter : while the quiet sitter for a close borough may be returned by the dash of a pen, without moving out of his easy chair. This takes place now, once in seven, or, as is the practice, once in about six years ; make it to happen once in three years ;—you double the disadvantage against the popular representative ;—and then have the assurance to call this a reform !

‘ But let not gentlemen deceive themselves with a fond expectation, that dexterous contrivances such as these, or that any palliatives, however specious, can amuse the real reformers. It is not with such sacrifices that you can gorge and satisfy the all-devouring monster of radical reform. No, no, no. The reformers mean, and they demand, a strict personal representation ; they mean and they demand a direct expression of the people’s will.

‘ I can only say, that *if* government be a matter of will, (I thought it had been matter of reason and convention) and *if* the will of the whole nation be once fully represented—these two premises being assumed,—the conclusion that follows from them is to my mind inevitable : it is shortly and plainly this, that the assembly so fully representing the national will, must be, and in sound logic ought to be, the whole

government. There is no room, no pretence for any other power in the state. Kings and lords are useless incumbrances : and such a House of Commons all in all.

‘ Such, I say, is the logical, the necessary, the unavoidable inference from the premises, once admitted, of the honourable baronet and the radical reformers. I content myself for the present with merely stating them, not presuming to find fault with them, nor proceeding to argue them on this occasion. Opportunities will probably occur for that purpose. I should not even have touched upon the subject of parliamentary reform to-night, had it not been for the taunting invitation of the right honourable gentleman, and the solemn admonition of the honourable baronet. But, so called upon, I could not decline stating my opinions, without appearing to shrink from them. I do not shrink from them. I have stated them, I hope, intelligibly ; I am sure without any reserve.

‘ Other warnings are addressed, not to me only, but to the House, as to the lessons to be learned from the French revolution. Undoubtedly these two lessons are to be learned from the French revolution ; first, that proper changes ought not to be delayed too long ; secondly, that precipitate changes are subversive of the peace and order and happiness of nations. But can any man look to the history of the ill-fated Louis XVI., and say, that it was his obstinate adherence to the rights of the throne which he inherited, that imbittered the last years of his reign, and finally led him to the scaffold ? Can any man seriously contemplate the course of events which brought that monarchy to ruin, without trembling at the consequences of a too obsequious subservience to temporary popularity ?—without perceiving how easy and how dangerous is the mistake of sacrificing the interests of a whole community to the clamours of a discontented few ? Let not then the lessons of the French revolution be lost upon us ! When our ears are assailed by clamour for change, let us not be unmindful of the silent apprehensions, the confiding patience of that large portion of the community, whom these clamours distract and appal ! Let us not mistake their silence for acquiescence ; nor their confidence for carelessness ! The feeling of alarm is deep, and general, and just. The persons, whose machinations are the subject of this debate, and the cause of our being called together at this season, are valueless as motes in the sun-beam, compared with the loyal, quiet, un murmuring millions, who look up to parliament for protection. Let them not look up to you in vain ! Let not the claims, and the welfare of those millions,—of the loyal and the good, of the peaceful and the pious,—be disregarded by the House, in deliberating upon the measures which are necessary for the safety of the country.—“ *Vos ne populo Romano deesse videamini providete ! Obsessa fascibus et telis impio conjurationis vobis supplex manus tendit patria communis. Vobis se, vobis vitam omnium civium, vobis arcem et Capitolium, vobis aras penatium, vobis muros atque urbis tecta, vobis templa deorum atque delubra commendat.*” —Canning, pp. 38—50.

Such were the strains of mingled reason and eloquence which swayed

swayed the counsels of Parliament on this important occasion. In fact, the measures adopted by the legislature were the natural result of the opinions we have transcribed. There were those, indeed, who, professing to entertain the same, or nearly the same, views of public affairs with these distinguished leaders, yet dissented from the enactments proposed; on the ground, that the true remedy to be applied, was only a more vigorous execution of the subsisting laws; or at least, that innovation should not be resorted to, until the necessity of it should have been established by a minute and extensive parliamentary inquiry into the state of the nation. But the majority of both Houses of Parliament conceived that they had before them abundant proof of the inadequacy of the present law to cope with the newly invented forms of evil; and that the only certain effect of delay would be to give the enemy fresh strength, spirits, and insolence. Notwithstanding these impressions, however, there seems no reason to believe, that the proposed bills were carried through the House with greater expedition than was absolutely necessary. On the contrary, every clause seems to have been canvassed with attention, and a great variety of modifications was adopted, at the suggestion of members unconnected with government, and even of respectable classes of persons out of doors, whose interests seemed likely to be affected.

It would be beside our intention, to enter into any minute analysis of the measures resorted to, or to re-animate in our peaceful pages, the hot parliamentary contentions they occasioned. There might be no great difficulty in either undertaking; for the acts and the debates are in all hands. But, having been attracted into this warlike field by a wish to do justice to the speeches before us, we are desirous of retaining our original purpose *ad idum*, and of interfering in the combat exactly so far as that purpose demands, and no farther. Even in that view, however, since the measures in question were the actual result of the sentiments maintained in the speeches, a summary and popular account of them seems important; as affording the best illustration of the practical tendency of those sentiments, and, we may perhaps add, as also furnishing an experimental proof of the effect with which they were delivered.

The acts passed on this occasion were in number, six: of which one of the most important relates to the holding of seditious assemblies,\* and was obviously suggested by the proceedings already mentioned at Manchester.

Previously to the passing of this act, the state of the law re-

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\* 60 Geo. III. cap. 6.

lative to popular assemblies was not a little singular, and this, in some respects which do not appear to have been much adverted to in Parliament. By a statute then legally in force, though it had not for many years been in fact enforced, we mean the Act passed in the reign of Charles II.,\* entitled: 'An act against tumults and disorders, upon pretence of preparing or presenting public petitions, or other addresses, to His Majesty, or the Parliament,' it was enacted, that no person or persons should solicit, labour, or procure, the getting of hands, or other consent, of any persons above the number of twenty or more, to any petition, complaint, remonstrance, declaration, or other address, to the King, or both or either Houses of Parliament, for alteration of matters established by law in Church or State, unless the matter thereof should have been first consented unto and ordered by three or more justices of the county, or by the major part of the Grand Jury of the county, or division of the county, where the same matter should arise, at their public Assizes, or General Quarter Sessions, or, if arising in London, by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, in Common Council assembled. The same statute enacted that no person or persons should repair to His Majesty, or both or either of the Houses of Parliament, upon pretence of presenting or delivering any petition, complaint, remonstrance, or declaration, or other address, accompanied with an excessive number of people, nor at any one time with above the number of ten persons. The penalty for transgression against the act, was to be a fine not exceeding the sum of one hundred pounds, and imprisonment for three months.

In the case of Lord George Gordon, in 1781, it was contended before the Court of King's Bench, that this remarkable statute had been virtually repealed by the clause in the Declaration of Rights, afterwards incorporated into the Bill of Rights, according to which 'it is the right of the subjects to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning, are illegal.' Lord Mansfield, however, in the name of the court, denied this doctrine, positively asserting, that the statute in question had not been repealed by the Bill of Rights or any other act, but was still in force. The statute was also referred to by Lord Loughborough, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in his celebrated charge to the Grand Jury of the county of Surry, in 1780, as the undoubted law of the land. Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries, asserts the existence of the law, without any reserve or qualification. And the *Jura Populi Anglicani*, a

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\* 13 Car. II., cap. 5

determined and very able attack on the House of Commons for their proceedings with respect to the Kentish petition in 1701, though the author is evidently bent on upholding the right of petitioning in the utmost possible extent, yet refers to the law, and argues from it, as undoubtedly in full operation.\*

It has, indeed, been unanswerably argued† that, if the Declaration of Rights had been intended to repeal this statute, its framers would not have been content with asserting the subject's right of petitioning *the King*; but would have distinctly comprised petitions *to both or either of the Houses of Parliament*. In the same manner, they would have been careful, in describing the subject-matter of the right contended for, to use terms co-extensive with those of the statute, by adding, to the mention of *petitions*, that of *complaints, remonstrances, declarations, and other addresses*. So that even if it be true that the Declaration has repealed the statute, at least the repeal can extend no farther than so far as regards petitions addressed to the throne.

But no man who has bestowed the most superficial study on the Declaration of Rights, reading it by the light of contemporaneous history, will for a moment suppose, that such was, or even could be, the object of that famous instrument. The Declaration of Rights had its birth, not in the reveries of political philosophers, but in the constitutional knowledge and practical wisdom of men profoundly versed in the English law. Unlike the expository declarations of modern system-mongers, it confines itself, with a severe simplicity, to the exigencies of the occasion which called it into existence. It condemns, not tyranny in the abstract, but the particular tyranny of James II. It *declares*, not the rights of man, but the recently-violated rights of English subjects. Every single clause in the Declaration of Rights has a direct reference to some specific offence against the constitution by the unhappy monarch against whom, by name, it is pointed; and that no reader might be left in doubt on the subject, the declaratory part is ushered in by a preamble, specifying all those offences in detail. This preamble at once explains and limits the clause declaratory of the right of petitioning, by stating among the despotic acts of James, his *committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates, for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the dispensing power*. For it will be observed, that the petition of the Prelates, having been signed, consented to, and presented, by only seven persons,

\* Reprinted in Cobbett's Parl. Hist. Vol. V.

† In Sir C. E. Carrington's 'Inquiry into the law relative to Public Assemblies of the People,' a pamphlet containing much good sense and valuable information.



was clearly within the exception of the statute of Charles. In fact, this very circumstance had been urged in defence of that petition, by Mr. Somers, afterwards the great Lord Somers, who was one of the counsel for the Bishops; and it is remarkable that the circumstance is distinctly noted, as exculpatory of the Bishops, in the first declaration issued by the Prince of Orange himself,\* a declaration said to have been edited by Fagel, but of which the materials were supplied from this country, and which was a sort of prolocutory instrument to the Declaration of Rights by the convention.

In further illustration of the sentiments of the great authors of the Revolution, on the statute against disorders upon pretence of petitioning, and indeed on the subject of petitioning in general, it may not be irrelevant to mention the following curious occurrence. A very few days before the Declaration of Rights was presented to the Prince and Princess of Orange, some zealous persons in the city of London having set on foot a petition to the two houses, praying that their Highnesses might be speedily settled on the throne, and having canvassed for names to the petition in a disorderly manner, the Lord Mayor, *by command of the Prince, published an order suppressing the petition*; on the ground that it was 'regular and usual for the citizens of the city, that were under the apprehension of any grievance, to make their application to the Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen.'† If the coercive power exercised in this instance, and the usage asserted in vindication of it, had been considered as odious and abominable, can we conceive that either the one or the other would have been resorted to at such a moment, and for the purpose of crushing such a petition?

Among the many circumstances which satisfactorily prove that a real and a very substantial accession to the popular liberties has taken place since the period of the Revolution, one of the most decisive, certainly, is the fate of the statute we have just been considering. It has not been repealed; and, in a legal sense, it has never become obsolete. In a legal sense, indeed, it *could not* become obsolete; for, by the somewhat singular rule of the English law, no desuetude can antiquate an act of Parliament. Yet, for many years, it has, in practice, been consigned to almost absolute forgetfulness. We know not of its having, in any instance, been the subject of judicial notice, since the period, already al-

\* 'Thus did they proceed with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Bishops, who, having offered a most humble petition to the King, in terms full of respect, and not exceeding the number limited by law, &c. &c.' Declaration of 10th Oct. 1688. As to the history of the composition of this paper, see Burnet.

† See the order given in Cobbett's Parliamentary History, from Echard. See also Ralph, vol. ii. p. 32.

luded to, of the riots in 1780; and, during the violent discussions both in and out of Parliament on the celebrated Sedition and Convention Bills of Mr. Pitt, though those were measures *in pari materia*, we believe that it was never even mentioned. Men have gone on as if no such law existed: they have met in large voluntary assemblies, self-called, self-authorized, self-regulated:—they have petitioned, complained, remonstrated, declared:—addressing, sometimes the King,—sometimes the Lords or Commons,—sometimes both,—sometimes all the three,—and sometimes they have addressed neither the one nor the other, but have breathed their undigested complaints ('*incondita*') to the wild winds or wilder rabble; while no magistrate made them afraid, nor any *Radical* remonstrated against a law by which their remonstrance against every other law stood avoided and condemned.

Not only the fact of the tacit supersession of this law, but the nature of the terms in which it is drawn up, may serve to throw considerable light on the actual progress which has been made by the liberties of the people. Its prohibitions were intended to operate against tumultuous and disorderly modes of proceeding in the preparation or delivery of petitions or other addresses of a political kind to the great constitutional functionaries. But the assemblage of immense and disorderly crowds with a mere view to discussion, the statute does not seem to have distinctly forbidden; because probably it did not anticipate. We do not mean that such meetings do not fall within the terms of the enactment; but, had they been specifically intended, they would have been pointed out by a more appropriate designation. The truth is, that, at that time, they do not appear to have been at all known. The custom then was, first, to frame a petition or remonstrance; next, to collect signatures or supporters to it from house to house, the train of attendants still swelling as it rolled onwards; and, when complete, the instrument was accompanied to its ultimate point of destination by the escort thus procured. In the course of this process, considerable assemblies were sometimes formed, more or less discussion took place, and tumult and disorder not seldom proved the consequence; but these were, after all, the *incidents*, not the *end*; the object was the petition or remonstrance, to be conveyed to parliament or the throne. The volunteer-statesmen of that day were not acquainted with the modern method of calling together large deliberative crowds, as a sort of *outer parliaments*, having no other object than publicly to take into consideration affairs of state, and to record the result of their deliberation in propositions or resolutions, addressed to none of the constituted authorities, but published purely as authorized expressions of popular opinion. Such a plan of proceeding

would, to our ancestors, have been unintelligible. A remonstrance addressed to nobody, they would have regarded as the sounding of a bell *in vacuo*; or as the shaft of Acestes, shot into the void air without an aim; and they would not have been surprised if, as in that instance, a prodigy had succeeded:

‘*Namque volans liquidis in nubibus arsit arundo;  
Signavitque viam flammis.*’

Let it not be imagined, however, that we name this modern practice only to condemn it. On the contrary, we have already intimated that it is the index of an actual increase in the amount of our national liberties. From the date of the Revolution downwards, the general intelligence of the people has kept growing, their facilities of intercourse have multiplied, and their love of political discussion has been more and more inflamed. Public speaking, once a rare and precious fabric, the subject of a virtual monopoly, is now ‘the ware of every day.’ From these causes, acting partly on each other, partly in combination, and, finally, reacted upon by that which they have produced, has arisen the fashion of holding large popular meetings. Hitherto, all this has, on the whole, been well, and, short of the proved abuse, it is well still. That the custom was not known to our fathers, is not, of course or necessarily, any reason why it should not be known to their posterity. The Revolution was a solemn national consecration of great principles; but, in the development and application of those principles, delicate as the task is, there seems no cause why the agency of time, the grand legislative umpire, should be rejected. It is, in fact, plain that the effect of this agency has been various; in some respects, apparently strengthening the monarchical and aristocratical parts of the constitution; in others, as in the instance now under consideration, and in the publicity of our modern parliamentary debates, more evidently throwing weight into the democratic scale. No practical statesman will condemn these changes, either on the one side or the other, *merely* because they are such. The building, in settling, has swerved a little; but it may still be standing firm on its adamantine foundations. The river has, in some degree, shifted its course, but it may still be welling out from the same clear, rich, and elevated springs.

Notwithstanding this view of the subject, however, yet, when legislative changes, affecting, in any degree, the popular liberties, are contemplated, it is manifestly important to ascertain with some precision, in what manner the law to which they refer, was settled at the period of the Revolution. This is useful, both as furnishing us with an excellent general guide for the regulation of  
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our measures, and also as holding up a criterion by which the objections urged against any given measure may be tried.

The new statute permits the holding of voluntary meetings, if held within the parish or township to which the persons calling them belong, provided previous notice in writing, signed by seven resident householders at the least, be given to some neighbouring justice of the peace, who shall thereupon have the power of altering the time or place of such meeting. It also sanctions county meetings, called by the lord-lieutenant, custos, or sheriff of the county, or by the convener of the county in Scotland, or by the major part of the grand jury; also, meetings called by five or more justices of the peace for any division of any county having different divisions, and city, borough, or ward-meetings, called by the mayor, alderman, or other head officer. But, with these, and other less important exceptions, it prohibits meetings of any description of persons, exceeding fifty in number, to be held in the open air for the purpose or on the pretext of deliberating upon any public grievance, or any matter relating to any trade or business, or any matter in church or state, or of considering, proposing, or agreeing to any petition, complaint, remonstrance, declaration, resolution, or address upon the subject of such grievance or matter. It further allows all magistrates to repair to any public meetings of the nature before described, and arms them with various powers for the prevention or repression of disorder. It prohibits the attendance at county-meetings of any persons not being freeholders, householders, or inhabitants of the county; and, at town or parish-meetings, of persons not being householders or residents, or not having a freehold or copyhold estate in lands of the annual value of fifty pounds, in such town or parish; and it prohibits all persons from attending public meetings with arms, flags, banners, devices, drums or music. And, in addition to the powers given to the magistrate, it enacts various penalties for the breach of the regulations which it lays down. But the statute does not extend to any meeting held wholly in any room or apartment of any house or building; nor to any meeting held for the election of a member of parliament.

The original intention of the government was, that this act should be of permanent, or rather, as they themselves explained it, of indefinite duration. But they yielded to the suggestions of some of their friends, who recommended, in preference, a temporary enactment of the measure; and its operation is now limited to five years.

That this statute, though severer in its penalties, is lighter in its restrictions, than the act of Charles, must be evident on the slightest inspection. The two main features of the present act are,

are, that it limits in some degree the right of voluntary meetings, and that, where voluntary meetings are held, or at least are held in the open air, it strictly subjects them to the inspection and controul of the local magistrate. But, permitting all meetings not exceeding fifty in number, all meetings in rooms, and all voluntary meetings in parishes, it clearly leaves a very considerable scope to the right of voluntary assemblage; whereas the act of Charles prohibited such meetings, if exceeding the number of twenty persons, altogether. Again, the modern act confers a large discretion on the local magistrate with respect to the holding of public meetings on matters of state; but the magistrate may authorize such a meeting to be held, however little he approves of the particular object in view; whereas the act of Charles required that the very '*matter*' of the petition or other address proposed '*should have been consented to or ordered by three or more justices*'; a provision, under which it must seem very doubtful whether the magistrate could authorize the presenting of any petition the political sentiments of which did not coincide with his own.

The older statute was, in the instances just mentioned, certainly too rigorous; and this formed one strong reason why a new measure should be preferred to a simple revival of the former. But, with these plain circumstances in favour of the comparative lenity of the new law, it is not very easy to understand on what ground such a law could be censured as a complete and a disgraceful deviation from the principles of the Revolution. The principles of the Revolution, it is evident, were able to tolerate a much stricter, if not a stronger, regulation. Yet, the new act found no quarter: it was pronounced utterly inconsistent with the glorious liberty of petitioning as established by the Declaration of Rights; and, *out* of parliament at least, this ground was taken so broadly, and with so complete a forgetfulness of the past, that even if this law had been an exact fac-simile of that of Charles, there seems reason to believe that it would have been condemned with exactly the same vehemence, and that the shades of the Revolutionists, and the immortal memory of William the Third, would have been conjured up to join in anathematizing a statute, which the one advisedly continued, and the other deliberately acted upon.

If the statute of Charles, both by its extreme restrictiveness, and its having been enacted (as we have already explained) during the subsistence of a very different state of things, was not applicable to the present emergence, the common law, the production of a still earlier period, was equally inapplicable, though for somewhat different reasons. Against such meetings as those at Manchester, the common law pronounces a sentence of proscription

no less absolute than that of the new act. Its failing is, that it does not provide a cure for the evil, equally efficacious; and this imperfection was fully and tragically proved at Manchester. Unless the declared object of the meeting be illegal, the common law waits till the character of illegality clearly and visibly attaches; and then the remedies enjoined by it are, the dispersion of the assembly, and the seizure and prosecution of the persons actually engaged in it. Surely, it was infinitely more advisable, to enact regulations, which, while they leave the right of real deliberation untouched, shall operate rather in a preventive than a remedial manner against abuses of that right so flagrant, and at the same time so difficult of treatment, as the Manchester meeting. Had the new law been earlier in being, we should not now have to lament over the lives lost, and the misery produced, and the animosities created, on the calamitous day of the 16th of August.

Were we called on to prove that this law does not in fact affect the right of the people to deliberate and to pronounce their sentiments on public affairs, our answer would consist in asking whether it be possible to conceive a situation less compatible with the exercise of such a right than the midst of the immense crowd at Manchester? To do the leaders on that occasion bare justice, nothing was further from their conceptions than any notions of deliberating. An assembly, consisting of fifty or a hundred thousand individuals, mustered from a variety of quarters,—previously schooled to a given set of opinions,—sworn to maintain those opinions even unto death,—preceded by banners, on which that sworn engagement is expressed and blazoned,—and collected for the very purpose of vociferating their constancy in those opinions under every vicissitude,—such a meeting bears any character rather than that of deliberation:—it is not a deliberative, but a declarative meeting,—an assembly, not in council, but in action.

If it be the object of the new statute, in the first instance, to limit the number, and provide for the decorum, of popular meetings, its next end, certainly, is to give them a character of *locality*, by excluding from them all persons not connected with the vicinity in which they are held. Such assemblies as those of Manchester, not only do not contribute to the *formation* of opinion;—in any fair sense, they do not even *express* it. At least they do not express the opinion which, if they have any meaning at all, it must be their very business to exhibit,—that of the particular district in which they are held. On the contrary, the voices of the local community are, in such assemblies, overborne by those of myriads of nameless intruders, acting under the command of mountebanks as ignorant and as itinerant as themselves.

Just

Just before the fatal rendezvous at Manchester, a revolutionary provincial newspaper boasted that, on the approaching day of meeting, the population of that immense town *would be doubled*. The boast was probably exaggerated; but that a vast influx of itinerant strangers took place on the occasion, none can dispute. And then the question arises, can there be a grosser misnomer of an assembly so constituted, than to denominate it the *Manchester meeting*?

This view of the subject becomes most important, if a distinguished member of opposition was correct in supposing, that the large meetings held during the last year, consisted in a great measure of one and the same body of persons, who, like a strolling company of actors, trudged from place to place, every where repeating the same dull but mischievous farce. If the right honourable leader was founded in his remark, can any thing be more preposterous than to bewail the prohibition of such assemblies as if it were a death-blow to the expression of public opinion? The Sun of British liberty, it is said, is set;—the people of England are silenced;—and the glory of Europe is extinguished for ever!—Scarcely have we given way to our sorrows at this melancholy annunciation,—scarcely have we, with streaming eyes, consigned Magna Charta to its kindred antiquarian dust, and mournfully left the Bill of Rights to be food for worms,—when we are suddenly re-assured,—the prospect shifts,—boards, scenes, and sliders give way,—and with smiles we discover that we were weeping over the suppressed opinions, not of the people of England, but of a company of strolling mountebanks!

Such is, as we conceive, a fair account of the ‘Act for more effectually preventing Seditious Meetings and Assemblies;’ and the remarks we have made on it will, we cannot but hope, satisfy the mind of every impartial reader, that while, on the one hand, it leaves a sufficient latitude to popular meetings for the purpose of deliberation on public affairs, it is calculated, on the other, to protect such meetings from abuses utterly subversive of the very object which they profess to have in view.

Next to this act, we may mention those relating to Training, and to the Seizure of Arms. It appeared that, in the disturbed districts, bodies of persons were in the habit of holding nightly meetings for the purpose of learning the use of arms and the practice of military evolutions; and that a system was carrying on, with great activity, of supplying the lower orders, or of inducing them to supply themselves, with pikes, pistols, and other weapons at low prices. The two acts just mentioned were directed against these evils. The first\* prohibits meetings for drilling

\* 60 Geo. III. cap. 1.



and training, unless authorized in such manner as there mentioned, on pain of imprisonment for a term not exceeding two years, or transportation for a term not exceeding seven years, to the persons employed in drilling others; and, as to the persons who attend to be drilled, on pain of fine, and imprisonment not exceeding two years; and it enables justices of the peace, constables, and other peace-officers, to disperse such meetings and to arrest the persons present. The other act\* empowers justices, upon oath being made to them that arms or weapons are in the possession of any person or kept in any house or place for purposes believed to be dangerous to the public peace, to issue warrants to search for, seize, and detain such arms or weapons; and the peace-officer executing such warrant may, if refused admission into the suspected house or place, enter it by force, either by day or by night. The latter act is local and temporary. It extends at present only to certain disturbed districts named in it; though provision is made for extending it to other districts which shall be declared to be disturbed, by royal proclamation; but the same authority may also restrict its operation. And it is to expire on the 25th day of March, 1822.

Of these two acts, the first met with the almost unanimous support of both Houses of Parliament. The other was strenuously opposed. The provision authorizing a search for arms by night, was deprecated as laying the foundation for much private oppression and abuse; but the objection admits of this among other answers,—that the evil meant to be repressed was not only great and extensively diffused, but was the result of a secret combination among considerable numbers,—that the law can grapple with such an evil only by dint of promptitude and surprize,—and that nothing could be more foolish, in a contest of this nature, than to give the adversary the unlimited command of the hours of darkness, especially during the winter months. In effect, the provision is a severe remedy for a monstrous evil. The act was also opposed as being unconstitutional in its principle; and here again, but with somewhat more of plausibility at least than in the instance of the Seditious Assemblies' Act, an appeal was preferred to the Declaration of Rights, which says 'that the subjects, which are Protestants, may have arms for their defence, suitable to their condition, and as allowed by law.' It was, however, most justly observed by Mr. Canning, that the restriction of this asserted right to *Protestants*, sufficiently admits the possibility of exceptions to the general principle; and we may add that this restriction was not introduced casually or carelessly; for it ex-

\* 60 Geo. III. cap. 2.

panded,

panded, in the course of a very few weeks, into an act for *disarming all Papists and reputed Papists*.\* A still more decisive answer, perhaps, to the objection, will suggest itself to those who have perused the remarks already offered by us on the general nature and purport of the Declaration of Rights. That instrument was not meant for an assertion of indefeasible rights, as against the altering power of Parliament, but was intended only to assert the rights actually enjoyed by the subject under the existing laws, as against the dispensing power claimed by the late King. James, having, as the preamble says, 'caused divers good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed,' the declaratory part affirms the existence of the right which an undue extension of prerogative had thus violated. But the Declaration had no reference to the right of the legislature to controul or to modify this privilege of the subject; and, as if carefully to guard against the imputation of such a meaning, it asserts the existence of the privilege only *as allowed by law*.

The measures we have hitherto described, chiefly aimed at repressing the bolder and more overt acts, or at least at embarrassing the actual preliminary movements, of the disturbers of the public peace. But there was another branch of the mischief, which could be reached only by regulations of a different kind. For some time past, a part of the public press had distinguished itself by an effrontery of licentiousness, without any former example. The stamp act imposed a certain duty on newspapers and other publications containing news and political intelligence; but whether this description could be understood to comprise publications which, though appearing periodically, and wholly of a political character, affected rather to deal in discussion than to convey intelligence, was a point evidently admitting of much question. Availing themselves of this doubt, to avoid, if not to evade, the stamp-duty, a set of pestilent works were circulated at the lowest prices, and in fact swarmed in all parts of the country, threatening to *devour every green thing*. The Black Dwarf, the Republican, and the Medusa, were, we believe, the most conspicuous of these performances; and the doctrines which they promulgated were such as might fully justify the assumption of titles like the last. They wore, indeed, the '*saxificos vultus*,'—a form and aspect that might congeal the beholder with horror. They spoke a language hitherto unknown to Englishmen;—the mingled and virulent dialect of treason, blasphemy, malice, hatred, and all uncharitableness. This was in their graver mood; but they had their intervals of facetiousness also; when, quitting the heights of

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\* 1 W. and M. c. 15.

revolutionary tragedy, they condescended to disport themselves in a strain of pleasantry, rivalled only by the murderous wit that attended the memorable *noyades* in the Loire. In a word, the Heberts and Chaumettes, the scorn and aversion of Robespierre himself, (for even they 'that love night, love not such nights as these,') seemed, in these writers, to have transmigrated into the abused persons of Englishmen.

The pestiferous words of this fraternity have 'come but by halves to our ears'; and we are not very desirous, either of further acquaintance with them ourselves, or of contributing to make them known to our readers. Yet a single specimen of their moral taste and temper—*unum de crinibus auquem*,—we may perhaps be allowed to exhibit. A learned, virtuous, and amiable judge, having, in a charge delivered to the grand jury of York, expressed it to be his honest and conscientious opinion 'that this country was really in a flourishing condition, and that there was no foundation for alarm or complaint,' the sentiment was noticed by the Medusa in the following terms:—'When men are starved and insulted, *are assassinations to be wondered at?* Or is it not more wonderful that they do not more frequently occur? Could it excite any surprise if any deserving but distressed being, whose family is crying for bread, and of which there are tens of thousands in every neighbourhood, *should raise his dagger, and plunge it into the bosom of a monster who could coolly insult his sufferings?* Every one whose mind was not perverted would extol the deed, and say it was a praise-worthy act. *It is, Sir, a spirit that ought to be encouraged, and requires only to be properly directed, to be of great national advantage.*—The name of the insolent wretch must be recorded; his deeds are evil, and, if the Lord does not, *I hope the people will reward him according to his works.*'

We should not suffer such atrocity as this to pollute our pages, did we not deem it of real importance to mark the nature of the poison with which the country has of late been deluged. In the extract just given, however, if the most prominent cause of disgust be the unmingled wickedness of the sentiments it inculcates, the next object of horror is its portentous contrariety of spirit to all that has hitherto characterized the dispositions of Englishmen. The inhabitants of this island have, by one of their own poets, been pronounced 'infamous for suicide';—the charge was urged with the bitter exaggeration of a satirist;—but when before have we been celebrated for praising and encouraging *deserving assassins*? This deviation from the old national feelings and principles is among the most conspicuous features of the disciples of Radicalism; and, to do them justice, they are as little national in their affections as in their morals. Former mal-

contents

contents have loved their country, while they detested its rulers ; and, at the very moment of disparaging and condemning whatever was visible or tangible around them, they have still clasped an ideal England to their hearts. The radicals exhibit the real hatred, unredeemed by the romantic affection ; and are content not to be Englishmen, even in imagination.

If there be any one constituent part or element of our national greatness, which might be considered as of no party,—which, like ‘the common sun, the air, the skies,’ might be deemed incapable of geographical division,—which might have been expected to touch a vein even in the most disaffected bosom,—it is the fame of our arms. Such indeed has hitherto been the fact ;—the very outlaw can discover no region exempt from the magic influence of this sentiment ; an alien in every thing else, his irrepressible sympathy with the military glory of his country tells him that he is not wholly expatriated ; and, renouncing all other consanguinity with her, he instinctively claims kindred with the blood of her heroes. ‘None but my brave English could have done this,’ exclaimed the unfortunate James, captivated by the sight of that prowess which crushed his hopes. But a radical is made of sterner stuff than a tyrant. Will it be believed that, in the dialect of the new school, the common appellation of contempt for a soldier, is to call him a *Waterloo-man*? Who could have thought that the name of that field,—a name endeared to us by associations the tenderest and the most exalted,—a name which, like those of Cressy and Agincourt, will be pronounced by the remotest posterity with a pause of veneration,—a name by which, as by that of Marathon of old, future orators will adjure the slumbering valour of their countrymen, and evoke the genius of national honour from the dead,—that such a name should, by any compatriot of those whose exploits have immortalized it, be held up only as a by-word, and a term of scoffing and derision?

But even beyond the antinational temper of these persons, or perhaps the worst symptom of that temper, is their aversion to Christianity. The religion of their country is precisely that part of her system which they the least love, and which they appear the most desirous of destroying. Very consistently disobeying the authority which they blaspheme, they would do evil unto all men, but especially to the household of faith.—We will not, however, enlarge on this topic ;—*nunc de factis levioribus* ;—to cover our pages with the modern editions of blasphemies a thousand times refuted, would be equally unnecessary and revolting ; we will rather turn to a lighter theme, and, as we have afforded some insight into the moral qualifications of the new school, it may not be impertinent to exemplify their mental acquirements. It is to be observed

observed that their historical knowledge is always paraded with the same confidence as their political wisdom; and, as the following instance, casually selected from the *Medusa*, may lead the reader to suspect, with just as good reason. It occurs in a page in which that work, 'not in its Gorgon terrors clad,' but relaxing into mirthfulness, is dealing out its gamesome malignity against Lord John Russell, and the noble house of which he is a member. The writer, suddenly recollecting that he had heard some story of Joan of Arc having been condemned to the stake by a Duke of Bedford, breaks out; 'If our memory fails not, it was one of the "noble house of Russell," that ordered Joan d'Arc to be burnt alive!'

It is thought by some persons that the prevalence of these abuses has been much increased by the ill-advised forbearance of those to whom the law assigns the censorship of the public morals. There may be a degree of truth in the idea; for, as Lord Grenville, in a passage we have before quoted, intimates with equal justice and candour, it has now long been the practice in this country, to administer with tenderness, even in cases of acknowledged wrong, the laws affecting the rights of the subject. But this very circumstance shews that the magnitude of the evil will not be adequately explained by the mere fact of the lenity which it has experienced. Libels have never been wanting among us, and the libeller has, in numberless instances, been suffered to fret his hour unmolested; but when before did sufferance produce such consequences? Under the impunity of a single year, the mischief has attained an immensely greater size, than heretofore under that of a century. Is not this a proof that other than merely negative causes have been at work? Must we not infer the existence of something peculiarly vicious in the habit, when we find that the mere absence of remedies has generated a disease so deadly?

Lord Coke could formerly say with Tacitus, '*Convicia, si irascaris, tua divulgas; spreta, exolescunt.*' If you seek to revenge slanders, you publish them as your own; if you despise them, they vanish.' Is it not to be considered as a phenomenon, when maxims adopted by the joint authority of philosophy and law are found to have lost their efficacy?

The remedy, however, was at length resorted to; the terrors of justice were put in motion; and, in the case of one unhappy hawker of penny-blasphemy in London, and of two more (as we believe, but we cannot speak with certainty) in the country, a conviction ensued. The effects were such as sufficiently to illustrate the inadequacy of the existing laws. First, the individual to whom we have particularly alluded, availed himself of the

privilege allowed to persons charged with bailable offences, of *traversing*, or postponing his trial; and, during the whole of the intervening period, his noxious compositions, gaining notoriety and celebrity from the accusation, triumphed in a still increasing sale. The duration of a trial protracted through several days, only gave the nuisance a fresh impulse and an extended range; the whole town seemed to teem with the most abandoned blasphemies, the unhappy vulgar flocking to the repository whence they chiefly issued, as men flocked to visit the rattle-snake in the Haymarket, whose poisonous bite had killed a human being. This was indeed *frui Dis iratis*; the animadversion of the law added wings to the offence. Even after the conviction of the delinquent, there were no direct means of seizing his stock of unsold libels; and they would have been sought with greater avidity than ever, had not the expedient been resorted to of taking possession of them in satisfaction of the fine which made part of his sentence. To such shifts was the majesty of justice reduced, in attempting to arrest the progress of a declared plague! Happily, no rich patron of blasphemy paid the fine, or this legitimate stratagem would have availed nothing. But, though the wares were thus destroyed, the manufacturer remained; he even boasted that the leisure of his prison afforded him fresh facilities for the pursuit of his calling; and one number at least of his own paper, the *Republican*, was published by him when in confinement, which, both in religion and in politics, fully supported his inverted fame.

If the unhappy convict himself could be thus bold, no wonder that the rest of the crew should rise in audacity. Numerous prosecutions were commenced against them; but they abated not a jot of heart or hope; the Medusa, *Gorgoneis infecta venenis*, became yet more furious; and it appeared to have been truly vaunted by one of the apostles of radicalism, that the sect had now learned to *despise the dungeon-system*.

Such, in brief, were the occurrences and the circumstances, that induced parliament, during the late session, to adopt the new regulations relating to the press. They were perfectly aware that this was to touch the most delicate and sensitive organ in the whole frame of our polity; but they at the same time perceived that the organ was actually in a very distempered condition, and they were satisfied that nothing short of vigorous methods would effect its cure. In order, however, duly to appreciate the measures which they have adopted, it may not be uninteresting to glance at some peculiarities in the state of the modern press, which do not seem to have been much adverted to during the recent discussions. Amidst the heat and rapidity of debate, it was perfectly natural, and perhaps proper, that the  
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more striking, popular, and prominent parts of the subject, should engage the chief attention ; but there are topics connected with it, which, though a little retired from view, may very fitly, as it appears to us, enter into the contemplation of a calm and reflective observer.

It is trite enough to remark how greatly the influence of that which, with a mixture of literal and figurative meaning, we commonly call the press, has increased in modern times. The process of printing, mechanically considered, has undergone improvements only less remarkable than the invention itself; but, beyond all these, the increased use of reading, and the vast and still-extending facilities of mutual communication afforded by the present state of society, give to the press a moral force so prodigious, as to convert it into a new engine.

The progress of a nation in political refinement may always be read in the history of its jurisprudence. Our law of libel, tracing it from the earliest times, has varied with the varying modes and opportunities of social intercourse, prescribed and supplied by the actual frame of society. When our great Saxon and Danish legislators made laws, directing that the author of a slanderous report,—he '*qui alium rumoribus dissipatis improbâ voce lacerârit*,'—should be punished by excision of the tongue, it is apparent enough, both from the terms employed to describe the offence, and from the nature of the penalty denounced, that their attention was exclusively directed to oral, as distinguished from written slander. But their selection of this one branch of the crime, does not prove that they rated lightly the delinquency of the other. It proves only that the other was, in those rude times, little if at all known. There were libellers, indeed,—libellers, that is, in spirit and intention; but, fortunately for those they hated, they could not write. Speech constituted the almost exclusive medium of communication between man and man; and, of course, was the great vehicle of truth and of falsehood, of praise and of blame, of compliment and of calumny.

The shock of the Norman invasion, and the despotic nature of the government it introduced, could not but be unfavourable, in the first instance at least, to the progress of national refinement. But the sagacious and enlightened tyrants, who soon after occupied, at successive periods, the throne, introduced excellent laws; and knowledge and literature began to diffuse themselves, though at first with a current sufficiently tardy. The increased use of reading and writing would now be felt in increased abuses also. The first statute of Westminster, which passed under the reign of the First Edward, in prohibiting seditious and slanderous



rumours, employs terms (*de dire, de counter,*) which, it must be admitted, appear primarily to refer rather to *uttered* than to *written* words, but which yet undoubtedly admit, with almost equal ease, of either application; the same remark applies to the statutes of Richard the Second against false news;\* and it is certain that, as early as Edward the Third at least, and probably at a still earlier period, written slander, or what is properly called *libelling*, was held to be an indictable offence.

The lapse of time introduced yet greater alterations. Books multiplied. The art of writing, which is now confined chiefly to domestic purposes, was cultivated with such care, and applied to the circulation of literature with so much success, that even the invention of printing, stupendous as it was, does not appear to have broke on the world with all that palpable and immediate intensity of effect which we are in these days apt to ascribe to it. It was, however, like sun-rise succeeding twilight, and itself succeeded by a brighter day. Writing, under which term both law and common sense include printing, now became, as a medium of general intercourse, far more effective than speech; and this change is curiously marked in the history of our legislation. Under Henry the Eighth, it had been enacted that any person publishing and pronouncing, *by express writing or words*, the King to be a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, should be adjudged guilty of high treason.† The law was mitigated under Edward the Sixth, as to *words*; only the third offence being made treason; but it is observable that the penalty of treason was continued as to *writing*, even for the first offence.‡ This is, we believe, the earliest instance on record, of any English law prescribing a heavier penalty against seditious words when committed to writing, than against the same words when barely spoken; but the precedent was followed in both the succeeding reigns.§ It was followed also in better times and by better authorities. A similar distinction appears in one of Queen Ann's acts;|| by which a denial of the Queen's title, if in writing, was made treason, but, if by word of mouth, incurred only the penalties of a premunire. What is more remarkable, the general principle of the distinction was adopted by our courts of law, and has now become fully established by the silent legislation of judicial practice. For it is notorious that there are many things which, when committed to writing, the English law holds to be libels, and which yet, unless some special injury can be proved to have flowed from them, may be *spoken* without any legal blame.

\* 2 R. II. c. 5. and 12 R. II. c. 11.

† 26 H. VIII. c. 13.

‡ 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 11.

§ 1 and 2 Ph. and M. c. 3. 1 El. c. 5.

|| 4 A. c. 8.

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When the courts first adopted this distinction, plausible objections to the practice might not have been hard to find. It might have been urged, that, in matters affecting the liberty of the press, innovations were not to be tolerated; that the law of libel, as already administered, was quite severe enough;—that libels, after all, did little harm, for, if true, it was fitting that bad men should be exposed, and, if false, then truth was mighty and would prevail;—that the newly-devised restriction would operate as a severe check on rising genius, which was frequently observed to make its first tender essays in the line of defamation;—that such a restriction, besides, would tend to degrade the respectable portion of the public press, by subjecting, to one and the same rule, the miscreant who deliberately traded in sedition and blasphemy, and the worthy printer and bookseller, whose pages might exhibit only little occasional aberrations of a seditious or blasphemous spirit;—with much more to the same effect. And the objector might have concluded with sighing over the departed mildness of the Saxon code, which suffered the slanderer to traduce and vilify whom he pleased, so long as he confined his effusions to the vehicle of stereo-type.

To such objections it surely would have been a sufficient reply to observe, that they were for the most part objections which, if applicable at all, applied as much to the old law as to the new;—objections, in short, affecting every law of libel whatever;—that, if the principle of legislating against libels were to be admitted at all, then the proposed alteration of the law stood on the clearest grounds, being obviously enjoined by the actual alteration in the state of society;—that circumstances had conferred on libellous publications a power of doing mischief,—an evil energy,—wholly unforeseen, and which must be met by correspondent regulations;—that the law had in fact stood still while all else had gone forwards;—and that, in such a case, to amend it, by merely bringing it up to the ‘sticking-place’ of the progress of things, was, in a just and philosophical view of the subject, not to shift it, but rather to leave it stationary.

The argument immediately applies to the question before us. Of the periods of history we have mentioned, there are no two, taking them in succession, between which the force and influence of the press have made an advance so considerable as between the latest of those periods and the present time. As we have already explained, the instrument itself is altered, and it acts in a still more altered medium. In mechanical, and far more in moral power, it has gained immensely. But, if so, then surely we cannot wonder that it should require new checks and guards; for why must we expect, in this single instance, a failure of the rule

that, with the increase of power, increases also the liability to abuse?

If it be said that a free press carries with it its own safeguards and correctives, the answer is, that this reasoning would prove too much; since it must, if valid, equally prevail against restrictions of every kind without exception or discrimination, be they the most moderate or most arbitrary. That, within certain limits, such a self-medicative quality really belongs to the liberty of the press, as well as to all liberty, we should be sorry to deny. Increase the power; and, for a long way at least, the consequent good will increase faster than the incident evil. But imperfection qualifies all human blessings; and it is painfully true that the evil will be progressive also, though, for some time, not at an equal pace. To promote the diffusion of knowledge, to elicit the fruits of genius, to facilitate and to encourage the general interchange of minds and of hearts, is undoubtedly to swell the total amount of virtue and of happiness; but we must not forget that, in *some* though not in an equal ratio, that tendency to excess and disorder, which must ever form the extreme boundary of the privilege, will partake of its enlargement; as the superficies of an expanding sphere necessarily increases, though it does not increase with the same rapidity as the solid content.

Even here, however, let us not be misunderstood. Although, under the alteration which the general circumstances of society have undergone, some increase might naturally be expected in the abuses of the liberty of the press, it does not follow that such expectation, taken by itself, and without proof of an actual increase in the number or malignity of those abuses, would afford a sufficient warrant for subjecting the press to new regulations. We cannot safely proceed, in such a case, on mere presumptions, however violent. The soundest theory, unsupported by facts, is but a questionable authority for introducing changes into a living body of law. We should at least have a sufficient weight of fact to prove the theory sound, and to justify the presumptions which it furnishes. In the present case, however, there can hardly be a doubt that this previous condition has been fulfilled with a frightful amplitude. The excesses of a licentious and turbulent press have themselves exceeded all former bounds. The evil has appeared in shapes and attitudes with which the laws had confessedly no means of coping; and, even where it has been forced to a contest with public justice, and has been baffled in the struggle, it has arisen only more powerful from defeat. In a word, the actual state of the fact supplies the clearest and most confirmatory comment on those deductions of theory, which would previously have prescribed the adoption of further regulations for the purpose

pose of repressing an audacious mischief, and of sustaining the interests of the national morals, decorum, and purity.

Such are the views of this very important subject, which have led us cordially to approve of the recent regulations relative to the liberty of the press, and, we may add, to the process of defence under prosecutions for misdemeanours. We shall now state the outlines of those regulations, though with great conciseness.

By one act, entitled 'an Act to prevent delay in the Administration of Justice in cases of misdemeanour,'\* it is, among other provisions, enacted that persons indicted for a misdemeanour, shall plead to such indictment, and the trial shall take place at the session at which the indictment is found, provided such persons have been committed or held to bail twenty days before that session; but if not committed or held to bail for such previous length of time, then they shall plead and the trial shall take place at the subsequent session, provided they were committed or held to bail to appear at such subsequent session, or have had twenty days' notice of the indictment being found. It is competent, however, to the court in such case, on sufficient cause being shewn, to allow the party further time. The purpose and the effect of this enactment must both be obvious; without taking away the right of traverse, it subjects the exercise of that right to the equitable discretion of the tribunal before which the charge is preferred; and, after all, therefore, affords to parties accused of misdemeanours an indulgence which is withheld from persons indicted for offences of a capital or other grievous nature.

But the act is not wholly of a restrictive character. It contains two provisions in favour of the accused party, which, even in the judgement of the most strenuous opponents of government, constitute a very important accession to the privileges of the subject. By one of these, it is enacted that, in cases of prosecutions by the Attorney General, the party prosecuted shall, on application, be supplied, free of expense, with a copy of the information or indictment against him. By the other, if such prosecution is not brought to trial within twelve months after the plea of Not guilty is pleaded, then the defendant, with the leave of court in which the prosecution is depending, may himself bring on the trial, unless it shall be formally abandoned by the prosecutor.

This statute affects the offence of libel only as one among other descriptions of misdemeanour. There are two others, exclusively directed against the abuses of the press. One† of these

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\* 60 Geo. III. c. 4.

† 60 Geo. III. c. 9.

subjects all pamphlets and papers, containing any public news, intelligence or occurrences, or any remarks upon them, or upon any matter in church or state, printed for sale, and published in numbers, periodically or at intervals not exceeding twenty-six days, where such papers or numbers shall not exceed two sheets, or shall be published for sale for a less price than six-pence exclusive of the duty, to the same duty as newspapers. It further enjoins that no person shall print or publish for sale any newspaper, or any such pamphlets or papers as above described, without having previously given security in the sum of £300 if in or near London, and of £200 if elsewhere, to pay any fine or penalty that may be imposed on him by reason of a conviction for having printed or published a blasphemous or seditious libel. From these regulations, however, many classes of works are exempted, such as acts of parliament, proclamations, and other state publications, the bills of mortality, lists of prices current, and other commercial papers; and also books or papers commonly used in schools, or containing only matters of devotion, piety, or charity.

The other statute, 'for the more effectual prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels,'\* authorizes the court in which any conviction shall take place for composing, printing, or publishing, any blasphemous libel, or any seditious libel, tending to bring into hatred or contempt the person of the king or regent, or the government and constitution of the kingdom, or either house of parliament, or to excite attempts to alter any matter in church or state, otherwise than by lawful means, to make an order for the seizing, carrying away, and detaining in safe custody all copies of the libel in question, which shall be in the possession of the convicted party, or of any other person named in the order for his use; which order the peace officer may, during the day time, execute by force; but, in case of the arrest or the reversal of the judgment, the copies so seized shall be restored, free of expense, to the party from whom they were taken. The statute further enacts that a person convicted a second time of the offence of such libelling as above-mentioned, shall be liable, at the discretion of the court, either to suffer the other punishments inflicted by the law in cases of high misdemeanours, or to be banished from the king's dominions for such term of years as the court shall order; and, if the convict thus banished is afterwards found at large in any part of the king's dominions, he may be transported for any term not exceeding fourteen years.

It should be observed that banishment for a term of years,

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\* 60 Geo. III. c. 8.

though

though by possibility that term may exceed the utmost length of human life, does not involve corruption of blood, forfeiture of goods, or other incidents peculiar to a conviction for treason or felony. It should be observed also, that, until the recent abolition of the punishment of the pillory in all cases but that of perjury, this was one of the punishments which a convicted libeller might be adjudged to suffer: so that the penalty of banishment may not improperly be considered as a substitute for that of the pillory.

These statutes, unlike the act against seditious assemblies, are permanent laws. It would indeed be easier to prove that the seditious assemblies act should have been made permanent, than that these acts should be temporary. But, if this be saying too much, we may at least observe that, when the seditious assemblies act shall expire, and the act of Charles against tumultuous petitioning, (which the new act suspends,) shall be restored to its legal efficacy, it may befit the legislature to take both statutes into their consideration, with a view of shaping out, if possible, some measure better calculated for a lasting law than either. With regard however to the acts affecting the liberty of the press, they clearly stand on a very different ground from the seditious assemblies bill. Such assemblies as that of Manchester cannot be held but by concert among vast numbers; and it may therefore reasonably be hoped that the recent facilities of holding them, supplied as they have in a great degree been by the distressed state of the people, will diminish with the return of prosperity. It is otherwise in the case of libelling. Here the mass of the community are only passive accomplices; and a very small degree of prurient curiosity, or unfortunately formed habit, may render them sufficiently alert recipients of the poison served out by a small knot of determined and incorrigible conspirators. This therefore is an evil indefinite in its duration, and to be kept down only by a commensurate remedy.

After the length of observation with which we prefaced our account of the last mentioned statutes, it will not be expected that we should enter into an examination of the particular objections which have been urged against them. They are liable only to one objection of any apparent weight. The restrictions, it is said, imposed by these acts, and particularly the exaction of a pecuniary security from the publishers of political pamphlets, may, in some possible cases, oppose obstacles to the diffusion of political knowledge, or cramp the literary efforts of unfriended genius. But, unfortunately, this is an objection applying more or less to all regulations affecting the licence of the press; to the old law of libel, to the new law of libel, and to every law of libel that can  
be

be devised; for restraint is the price we must pay for all civil liberty.

The real question is not whether cases of hardship may not possibly occur; but whether they are likely to be so frequent, and of such extremity, as to outweigh the evils intended to be remedied by the demand of a security;—the evils of an *under-press*, conducted by men alike bankrupt in fortune and in principle,—men secure in their abjectness from one half of the vengeance of those laws which they outrage and defy, and who, without any assignable stake in the prosperity of the state, but, on the contrary, prepared to support a guilty existence by feeding on its vitals, yet derive from the exercise of their vile literature, an extent of influence seldom afforded to high education and unstained character. Is it fitting that the happiness of thousands should thus be put to hazard at the pleasure of those who refuse to risk any thing themselves? Or does the law act unjustly in demanding pledges of good conduct where it has bestowed or permitted the enjoyment of great power?

To our apprehension, viewing on the one hand the immense scope and the inexhaustible variety of materials which the present state of this country supplies to literary exertion, and considering on the other the noxious fecundity and the unspeakably malignant power of the Radical press, it appears very obvious that the new restriction, so heavily complained of, bears no proportion to the magnitude either of the benefits which it leaves to us, or of the dangers against which it is aimed. As an exception it is perfectly trifling; as a ransom it is inexpressibly cheap.

The objections, indeed, urged against these statutes have in some cases been stated with a largeness which would absolutely destroy all legislation on the subject of the press, however cautiously or temperately exercised. For if it be true that the state is under no circumstances to interfere with the market for literary exertion; if the system of a free press, like that of nature, has such a self-adjusting, self-compensating power, that no disturbances can arise from its movements of which it does not itself furnish the correctives, it will then inevitably follow that all laws in regulation of printing and publishing, whether they be of a preventive or a punitive nature, whether they demand securities or inflict penalties, are equally against principle and preposterous. In fact, this is nearly the doctrine of the white-hatted party themselves;—the philosophy of such statesmen as the Black Dwarf and the Examiner.—These persons hold that, in matters of religion at least, speech, no less than thought, ought to be perfectly exempt from legal controul;—that every man should be free, not only to follow his own religious notions, but to ridicule and vilify the



the creed of his neighbours;—that, with respect to religious discussion, there are, to say the truth, *no sins of the tongue*;—in a word, that our law of blasphemy, mitigate it as we will, is a gross outrage on the rights of man, and that even the most holy places of our constitution ought to be thrown open, without screen or barrier, to the polluting trample of the atheist and the misbeliever.

To those, however, who are content with notions less enlightened,—to those who believe that freedom of opinion, in common with all other civil privileges, must so be enjoyed as not to encroach on the privileges of others,—who believe that freedom of opinion is not more effectually sacrificed by subjecting it to the persecutions of monarchical or aristocratical power, than by laying it open to the outrages of vulgar fury,—to those, in short, who admit, within whatever limits, the *principle* of restriction,—we would earnestly submit it for consideration, whether that restriction can be condemned as a wanton and arbitrary application of the principle,—whether that regulation can justly be deprecated as a death-blow to the liberties of the press, and a revival of the darkness of the middle ages,—which, while it somewhat abridges one or two much abused channels of political or religious disputation, leaves wholly untouched the rest,—which also leaves untouched all the other thousand fields of literary exertion,—all art, all science, all criticism, all history, all philosophy, all political economy, all the ‘highest heaven’ of imagination, all compositions devoted to the institution of youth, all that is instructive in morals, edifying in piety, or elevating in devotion. Such are the lights which still shine unclouded, while the measure seeks to exclude only a species of knowledge which may be complimented with the *name* of light, but which is, in truth, but darkness visible, and a thousand times more dangerous than the blankest and most credulous ignorance.

It is the profound remark of Madame de Staël on the policy of Buonaparte, that, finding it impossible, in a country so enlightened as France, to erect the fabric of despotism on the foundation of national ignorance, he attempted to found it on a depravation of the national manners.\* The observation may convey a salutary lesson to all countries, and to none more than to the most enlightened country in the world. Even for England, there is no absolute insurance against the peril of despotism; no covenant

\* ‘Le plus grand crime de Napoléon, toutefois, celui pour lequel tous les penseurs, tous les écrivains dispensateurs de la gloire dans la postérité, ne cesseront de l’accuser auprès de l’espèce humaine, c’est l’établissement et l’organisation du despotisme. Il l’a fondé sur l’immoralité; car les lumières qui existoient en France étoient telles, que le pouvoir absolu ne pouvoit s’y maintenir que par la dépravation, tandis que d’ail leurs il subsiste par l’ignorance.’

*Considérations sur la Révolution Française, 4me partie, chap. 15.*

against

against the return of that mighty deluge, which it has been the labour of centuries to bank out and oppose. But, should an event so dreadful ever take place,—should that day of wrath ever arrive (and late be its arrival!) when heaven, hitherto so propitious to us, shall open upon us its windows in anger,—when the very seat of liberty shall be subverted, and

‘—this mount  
Of Paradise by might of waves be mov’d  
Out of his place, push’d by the horned flood,  
With all his verdure spoil’d,—

it is at least apparent, from what quarter the desolation may be apprehended. The progress of knowledge, neither ministers nor parliaments, were they capable of entertaining a project so detestable, can, in any sensible degree, impede. On this point, indeed, we feel ourselves re-assured by some of those who have been the most strenuous, not only in imputing the design, but in anticipating its success. In their denunciations against the proposed restrictions on the liberty of the press, if they began with an alarming picture of the fatal efficiency of the restrictions, they not seldom ended with a triumphant prediction of their futility. Whatever may be thought of the consistency of these disputants, it must at least be conceded to them, that neither the measures before us, nor any other similar regulations, will ever have power to arrest the extension of intellectual light among the people. The voice of knowledge has gone forth, never to be recalled. It would be as easy to restore the rain to the cloud from which it has parted, as to re-expel from the bosom of an immense and educated society all those streams of instruction which have sunk into it, insinuating themselves into every crevice, reaching every root, and mingling with the moisture of every rising spring. But there is a danger, though of a different kind, and arising from another cause. If the sources of our national virtues are to be contaminated by the essential virus of radicalism,—if the rational and practical religion of our fathers is to be exchanged for a spurious and heartless pantheism,—if their sound Christian devotion is to be converted into the most detestable spirit of blasphemy,—if their firm and sedate love of liberty, beautifully combining the sentiment of a high self-respect, with that of a steadfast and habitual reverence for the laws, is to give place to a turbulent, conceited, revolutionary restlessness, having its source in a contempt for existing institutions, and its end in a subversion of them—then, indeed, however we may boast of our intellectual illumination, a tyranny founded on the basis of moral darkness, is close at hand. The extinction of the ‘great light’ of Christianity will once more be the signal for the celebration of orgies too dire for description;

scription; and the paroxysms of a sanguinary anarchy will again find a dreadful sedative in the stillness of a military despotism.

‘Major agit Deus;’—A better confidence inspires us; a humble hope, that measures sincerely, as we trust, adopted for the vindication of revealed religion from insult, and for the defence of some of Heaven’s best gifts entrusted to our care, will be blest with a prosperous result. Up to this moment, as we have already remarked, the proceedings of parliament have been justified by the event. The malcontents may, indeed, be laying new plans and devising new engines of mischief in the dark recesses into which they have been driven; but it is something, even for a season, to have disabused their presumption and repressed their audacity.

The wisdom, however, of these measures is not altogether to be estimated by their success; and still less properly can that criterion be applied to the merit of those by whom they were supported. The disordered ranks of disaffection may possibly be restored, and its crushed hopes reanimated. The calm may cease; the enemy may start up from ‘the oblivious pool’ on which he lies or affects to lie astonished: and the war, which appeared to have been extinguished, may prove to be only in its beginning. Still, and whatever shall be the event ordained by unerring wisdom, the justice and the gratitude of the British nation will not fail to consecrate to glory the names of those distinguished patriots, who have been most conspicuous and successful in rallying the public spirit of the nation against these cruel assailants:—who, holding up a censer, fraught with the fire of the richest and most sacred eloquence, have stood between the dead and the living to stay the plague:—who, governed by an imperious sense of duty, and perhaps at no small cost of personal feeling, have raised their voices to denounce the designs, and to confound the fury of the enemies of civilized society;—irresistibly vindicating our dearest interests, both private and national;—defending alike the grandeur of the throne, and the peace of the cottage,—whatever is venerable in the law, or majestic in public function,—all the charities of our hearths, and all the sanctities of our altars.

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At the moment when we are rising from these reflections, we are suddenly arrested by the general groan of the yet uncorrupted part of the nation, at the discovery of the most atrocious plot which has ever disgraced and saddened English history. Of the individuals accused we say nothing:—their several cases, with all the qualifying or mitigating circumstances that attach to each, will be weighed by the calumniated justice of England, in a balance which was never made to swerve by the influence of partiality,

tiality, nor to tremble by the contagion of popular alarm. But that the most horrible crime has been meditated, has been agreed upon by numbers, has been matured for execution, has been only not committed,—all thinking men, of whatever political sentiments, believe; and it is a circumstance which we are unable to contemplate without the profoundest emotions of grief, anxiety, and apprehension.

To those who had taken even a moderately close view of the nature of the principles for some time past promulgated by the revolutionary press, the painful suspicion could not but occur, that the silence and tranquillity which have recently been maintained by the revolutionary reformers, by no means denoted the inaction of sloth or of innocence;—that the foe was not at peace, but in ambush. We ourselves foreboded this; but the utmost stretch of our augury has been outgone by the event. Could we even have looked into such a depth of horror, we should have averted our eyes from it; but, in fact, it was an evil not to be depicted by any anticipation, except that of prophecy itself. We are in the case stated by the great discoverer of the blackest conspiracy recorded in the Roman annals: ‘Ego magnum in republicâ versari furorem, nova quædam misceri et concitari mala, jampridem videbam; sed hanc tantam, tam exitiosam haberi conjurationem à civibus nunquam putavi!’\*

But, in shortly detaining the press at this awful and anxious moment, our motive is not the wish to indulge our feelings, however intensely affected; it is rather the solicitude to point and deepen, so far as a hasty but sincere and earnest effort may avail, those monitory impressions which the occasion is calculated in the strongest manner to produce. And the import of all that we have to offer on this head, will perhaps be sufficiently suggested by the declaration with which Cicero follows up the words we have already quoted from him:—‘Quantum facinus ad nos delatum est, videtis; huic si paucos putatis affines esse, vehementer erratis. Latius opinione disseminatum est hoc mulum.’ For if this be a true description of the nature of the recent conspiracy, surely no degree of insensibility can render us blind to the practical conclusions that irresistibly follow.

It is not from secret information, nor yet from peculiar sagacity, that we thus affect to speak. We state only the obvious deduction from what every man hears and sees. When an illustration so cogent is afforded of the progress made by the doctrines, or rather by the impiety, of assassination, must we not fear that the shocking industry with which the crime has been re-

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\* 4 Catil.

commended by one portion of the press, and the lamentable ingenuity with which it has been palliated by another, from which better things might have been hoped, have produced a much more extensive effect than has yet betrayed itself in action? This, this is our fear and our grief;—unless the utmost vigilance is employed, we feel the dreadful apprehension that other explosions of crime barely unperpetrated, or even—but we dare not finish the sentence—may inflict on us sensations of a yet acuter sorrow than now agitates the bosoms not only of all the good, but of all not wholly reprobate. Deep impressions sedulously made on the minds of too many of the vulgar,—criminal suggestions, long familiarized,—the instinctive horror of crime first relaxed, and then wholly laid aside,—these are by no means negative agents; in times of public distress or commotion, their tendency is to be fatally in action. They are living principles, and they live for the destruction of society. These horrible stains, then,—these foul concretions,—must be removed, or they will canker fatally; they must undergo a timely lustration, or they will perhaps force on themselves a lustration of fire,

‘—penitusque necesse est

‘*Multa diu concreta modis, inolescere miris.*’

In what manner this purification may best be accomplished, there is no need to discuss as a question of legislation or policy. The legislature will, we trust, never want promptitude in upholding the cause of order and morals; and the vigilance of the Executive Government, on the recent occasion, has been beyond praise. Our concern is with individuals; that is, in the proper and constitutional sense of the term, with the people. It is on the minds of these that we wish to enforce the impression of the noxiousness and atrocity of the new creeds of reform. The propagation of such doctrines is not a matter of indifference to any member of society, is, on the contrary, most deeply interesting to us all. What a degree of insecurity, for example, would the prevalence of the practice of assassination alone, shed over the whole surface of private life! What a loss of that social confidence hitherto so characteristic of England! No expedient can be unnecessary, for the purpose of expelling such principles,—of blunting these venomous arrows that fly by noon-day,—of exorcising this malignant spirit, whose deeds affront the sun. Let all then who have power or influence, be persuaded, that no worthier occasion will ever exist of employing either. By precept, by example, by the generous application of all the means within their reach, let them labour to uphold the national morals and religion under one of the severest persecutions by which they have been assailed since the period of the Reformation. It is not by instructing the people

people in geometry and arithmetic and philosophy and political economy, (though we certainly would not debar them from a ready access to liberal knowledge of any description,)—but by inculcating on their minds, according to the extent of our respective opportunities, a reverence for those sound and tried principles from which the virtues and the great achievements of their ancestors equally sprung,—that we can hope to render them thoroughly proof against the contagion of the disorganising maxims of radicalism. All other defences against such an enemy are likely to prove unavailing. *This kind goeth not out, but by the use of arms of immortal temper.*

The national gratitude is indeed deeply due for that interposition of Providence, which has saved us from the reproach and horror of the deed of blood so lately meditated. And, if we may be allowed to wind up our remarks on the very serious topics we have been considering, by a serious conclusion,—and if the example of one of the speeches before us may justify us in resorting to Roman authority for the lessons adapted to the crisis, we will beg leave to repeat the admonitions addressed to the people by the same illustrious orator, whose address to the senate Mr. Canning has so appositely cited; ‘(Dii immortales) jam non procul, ut quondam solebant, ab extero hoste atque longinquo, sed hic præsentis suo numine atque auxilio, sua templa, atque urbis tecta, defendunt:—quos vos, Quirites, precari, venerari atque implorare debetis; ut quam urbem pulcherrimam, florentissimam, potentissimamque esse voluerunt, hæc, omnibus hostium copis terrâ marique superatis, a perditissimorum civium nefario scelere defendant!’

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## INDEX

TO THE

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REVIEW.

---

## A.

- Annor's duties**, according to the rule of St. Benedict, 69—how elected, 73, 74.
- Abernethy (John)**, Inquiry into the Probability of Mr. Hunter's Theory of Life, 1, and Physiological Lectures, *ib.*—his opinion on the nature of life, 2—attacked by Mr. Lawrence, 3—vindicates his theory, 4—censures Mr. Lawrence, 5—by whom he is abused, 5, 6.
- Abuses of the press**, outline of the act for preventing, 552—observations on it, 552—552.
- Addison (Mr.)**, fine observations of, on the capacity of continual improvement in man, 21.
- Administration of justice**, outline of the act for preventing delay in, 551.
- Africa (coast of)**, suggestions for civilizing, 301.
- African Company's Forts**, total inefficiency of, for the purposes of trade, 296, 297—especially for preventing the Slave-trade, 297—299—scanty salaries allowed by the Company to their officers, 300.
- Annual Parliaments**, curious argument for, 105.
- Antony (St.) the Great**, notice of, 64.
- Araba**, valley of, described, 441.
- Arabian notions of revenge**, as a duty, 155.
- Aristophanes's Lysistrata**, or female reformers, analysis of, with specimens, 182—188.
- Ashantee**, mission to, 273—its origin and objects, *ib.* 274—entrance of the mission into the capital, 276, 277—its approach to, and interview with the king, described, 277—282—failure of negotiations, 283, 284—war between the Ashantees and Fantees, 285—power of the sovereign, 286, 287—singular laws of this country, 287—state of the women, *ib.*—immolation of human victims on the sovereign's death, 288—population of the capital, and its employment, 289, 290—Ashantee music, 291.
- Astronomy**.—See *Physical Astronomy*.
- Athenians**, character of, 165—169—their love of the theatre, 169 and *note*—cha-

racter and situation of women of reputation among them, 172—174—prevalence of misogynism and misanthropism at Athens, 179, 180—respect of the Athenians for the maternal character, 183—their strict laws for guarding the nuptial bed, 189—corruption of morals at Athens, under Pericles, 190, 191—character, manners, and situation of the *Hetærae* or female friends among the Athenians, 191—202.\*

**Attic Glossaries**, notice of, 307.

**Atticistæ**, and Anti-atticistæ, notice of, 306, and *note*.

**Austria (Archduke Charles of)**, on Strategics, 380—observations on the old and present arts of war, 381, 382, 383—analysis of the theoretical part of his work, 386—and of the campaign of 1796, in Germany, 387—392—and of the campaign of 1799, in Italy, 393—401.

**Austrian armies**, causes of the disasters of, 393.

## B.

**Benedict (St.)**, anecdotes of, 67—pretended miracles, attributed to him by his historians, *ib.* 68—analysis of his monastic rule, 69—duties of the Abbot, 69—his election, 73, 74—order for celebrating divine service, 70—classification and duties of the monks, 70, 73—punishments, 70—their food and apparel, 71, 72—mode of admitting novices, 72, 73—observations on this rule, 74, 75—its adoption throughout Europe, 75—the fifth commandment altered by Benedict, 101.

**Bentham (Jeremy)**, reveries of exposed, 59, 60.

**Berbers**, character of, 467, 468.

**Beugnot (Count)**, anecdotes of, 486.

**Blasphemous Libels**, outline of the act for the punishment of, 552—necessity of it shewn by a statement of previous circumstances, 542—551—observations on it, 552—557.

**Bowdich (T. E.) Mission to Ashantee**, 273—on the African Committee, *ib.*—origin and objects of the mission, 273, 274—notice of the village of Payntree, 274, 275—

- 275—beautiful scenery on the banks of the Boosenupra, 275, 276—entrance of the mission into the capital of Ashantee, 276, 277—description of their approach to the sovereign, 277, 279—and interview with the king, 279, 280—282—remarks on Mr. Bowdich's conduct on this occasion, 282, 283—inefficiency of his negotiations, 283, 284—war between the Ashantees and the Fantees, 285—power of the sovereign, 286, 287—singular laws, 287—condition of the women, 287—human victims immolated on the death of the sovereign, 288—population and employment of the inhabitants of Coomassie, 289—account of that place, 290—curious sample of Ashantee music, 291—remarks on Mr. Bowdich's account of the course of the river Niger, 292, 295—additional account of Mr. Park's death, 293, 294—causes of Mr. Bowdich's censures of the African Company, 299, 300.
- Breakwater in Plymouth Sound, account and description of, 52—54.
- Bruce's travels, character of, 463, 464.
- Brunswick (Duke of), march of through Germany, 490—his brave attack on Halberstadt, 490, 491—defeats a corps of the Westphalian army, 491—successful retreat to England, 492—his death, *ib.*
- Budæus's *Commentarii Græcæ Lingue*, critical notice of, 312, 313.
- Burchell (W. J.) Hints on Emigration to the Cape of Good Hope, 203—character of this work, 209.—See *Cape of Good Hope*.
- Bulow's (General) system of tactics, notice of, 384.
- Buonaparte (Jerome) appointed king of Westphalia, 483—extent of his dominions, 482—his childish amusements, 484—anecdotes of his court, favourites and government, 484—487—character of his army, 489—dissolution of his kingdom, 492.
- Burckhardt (John Lewis), *Travels in Nubia*, 437—biographical notice of this enterprising traveller, 437, 438—engages in the service of the African Association, 439—embarks for and arrives in Syria, *ib.*—notice of his excursions in Syria, 440—arrives in Egypt, *ib.*—description of the valley of Ghor or Araba, 441—notice of his travels in Egypt, 442—and of his visit to Mecca, 443—his subsequent travels in Egypt, 444—death and character of Mr. Burckhardt, 444, 445—analysis of his journey into Nubia, 446—Dhourra bread of the Nubians, how made, 446—progress of Mr. Burckhardt into Nubia, 447—massacre of the Mamelouks, 448—arrival at Derr, *ib.*—obtains permission to travel to the second cataract of the Nile, 449—arrival at Mahass, 450—notice of the colossal remains at Ebsambul, 453—456—wanton despotism of a Nubian kashif, 457—economy of Mr. Burckhardt's travelling, 458—account of his suffering in his journey from Nubia, across the desert to Eastern Africa, 464, 465—appearance of the Serab or Mirage, 465—arrival at Berber, 466—appearance of that place, and character of the inhabitants, 467, 468—arrival at Damer, 470—account of its schools and inhabitants, *ib.*—arrival at Shendy, 471—character of the inhabitants, *ib.*—preparations for a pilgrimage to Mecca, 473—character of the conductor of the caravan, 473, 474—notice of the district of Taka and its inhabitants, 474, 475—Mr. Burckhardt's opinion of the identity of the Nile of Soudan and the Nile of Egypt, 476—objections to this opinion, 477—481.
- C.
- Cabalist, anecdote of one, 374.
- Caffres, character of, 230—their hospitality to some shipwrecked Americans, 230, 231—causes of their recent irruption into the colony of the Cape of Good Hope, 231.
- Camerarius (Joachim), notice of his *Commentarii utriusque Lingue*, 313, 314.
- Canning (Rt. Hon. George), Speech on the Opening of Parliament, 492—occasion of it, 494—character of his eloquence, 497, 498—observations of, on the legality of the Manchester meeting, and on the state of the country, 511—513, 516—518, 521, 522—on parliamentary reform, 526—530.
- Cape of Good Hope, publications concerning, 203—character of them, 206—211—cause of the public predilection in favour of this colony, 205—boundaries of the Cape, 212—its general surface, *ib.* 213—state of it during the summer months, *ib.* 214—and after the rains fall, 214—divisions of this country, 215—productions, *ib.*—culture of the vine, 215—217—peculiar taste of Cape wines, accounted for, 217, 218—account of the Corn district, 218—220—and of the Vee-boors or graziers, 220—their oppressions of the Hottentots, under the Dutch government, 221—mode of living among the Vee-boors, 222, 223, 224—interior of one of their hovels described, 224, 225—character of the genuine Dutch cattleboor—226—former state of the Hottentots, 226, 227—description of the Moravian



- vian settlement among the Hottentots, at Gnadenhal, 229—character of the Caffres, 230—their hospitable reception of some shipwrecked Americans, *ib.* 231—cause of the recent irruption of the Caffres into the colony, 231—outline of the plan, proposed by the British government, for sending colonists to the Cape of Good Hope, 232—answers to objections against this plan, from the time of embarking from England, 233—from the climate, 234—from the settlers being obliged to mix with the old colonists, and to learn their languages, 235—from the want of markets, 235, 236—from the hostility of the natives, 236—from wild beasts, 237—account of those usually found in the interior of the country, *ib.* 238, 239—real evils in the Cape, 240—the monopoly of the East India Company, *ib.*—and the depreciated currency, 240—account of the district where it is intended to plant the British emigrants, 240—246.
- Carlike (Richard), observations on the conduct of, 545, 546.
- Centripetal and tangential forces, separate effects of, stated, 137, 138.
- Chancery (Court of), jurisdiction and power of, 253, 256.
- Chatham dock-yard, notice of, 41.
- Clairaut's method of integrating equations, 134—observations on it, *ib.* 135—137.
- Climate of the Cape of Good Hope, 214.
- Colin de Plancy (J. A. S.) Dictionnaire Infernal, 349—character of the work, *ib.* 350.
- Colquhoun (Dr.), on the Means of affording Employment to the Redundant Population of Great Britain and Ireland, 203—character of this work, 208, 209.
- Conspiracy for assassinating his Majesty's ministers, observations on, 557—560.
- Constantine's (Robert) Greek Lexicon, notice of, 314.
- Constitution (English), account of, 265, 264.
- Coomassie, the capital of the Ashantee country, notice of, 289, 290.
- Corn-district of the Cape of Good Hope, described, 218—220.
- Cottu (M.), De l'Administration de la Justice Criminelle en Angleterre, 247—favourable opportunities of the author for making inquiries on the criminal law of England, 249, 250—his opinion on the power of the judges, 251—their impressive manner of passing sentence, *ib.* 252—contrast between a French and English trial, 252—254—erroneous account of the court of chancery, 255—the real nature and jurisdiction of that court stated, 255, 256—state of the system of juries in France, 256, 257—observations on the legal divisions of property there, 257—259—strictures on M. Cottu's erroneous account of the treatment of the French prisoners in England, 260—262—excellent view of the constitution of England, 263, 264.
- Court, influence of the morals of, on the morals of the community, 430—432—purity of the British court during the reign of George III. 432.
- Crastorius (Joannes), notice of the Greek Lexicon of, 312.
- Currency, depreciated, at the Cape of Good Hope, 240.
- D.
- Damer, schools and inhabitants of, described, 470.
- Declaration of Rights in 1688, observations on, 533, 534.
- Demons, enumeration of, 357—account of the demon Gubbe or Goblin, 358, 359—and of the Scandinavian demons, 360—362, 363, 364—legends of demons current in Spain, 362, 363—demons of the mines, 365, 366—tutelar demons of the Icelanders, 366, 367.
- Deptford dock-yard, notice of, 39.
- Despotism of a Nubian chief, anecdote of, 437.
- Dhourra bread, of the Nubians, how prepared, 416.
- Dictionaries of dead languages, difficulty of compiling, 311—notice of the principal Greek dictionaries extant prior to the revival of ancient literature, 306—310—and of the Greek and Latin dictionaries subsequent to that event, 312—315.
- Diogenianus's Greek Lexicon, notice of, 306.
- Divining rod, power and properties of, 373, note.
- Dobeneck (L. F. von) des Deutschen Mittelalters, &c. 349—character of the work, 350.
- Dock-yard at Deptford, notice of, 39—at Woolwich, *ib.*—at Sheerness, 40—at Chatham, 41—at Portsmouth, 48—50.
- Dominic (St.) account of, 79—81.
- Drama, moral influence of, considered, 402—subjects from classic history, why not adapted for, 403—success of Shakspeare in his historical plays, 404.
- Dupin (Charles), on the Maritime Establishments of France and England, 34—character of the author, 35—his visit to London, *ib.*—account of the wet docks there, with remarks, 36, 37, 38—notice of the private establishments on the banks

banks of the Thames, 38—superior excellence of the Victualling department at Deptford, 39—notice of the dock-yards at Woolwich, *ib.*—Sheerness, 40—and at Chatham, 41—false assertion of M. Dupin against the inhumanity of the British government, *ib.*—Mr. Seppings's improvements in naval architecture vindicated, 42, 44—notice of M. Dupin's account of Portsmouth dock-yard, 48—account of the beautiful block machinery there, and the mode of making ships' blocks, 49, 50—mistake of the author corrected respecting the Breakwater at Plymouth Sound, 51—notice of his excursion in Scotland, 54—56—his just tribute to the talents and merits of Mr. Watt, 56—his reception in the University library at Dublin, 57.

Dutens (M.) his '*Mémoires sur les Travaux Publiques d'Angleterre*,' an inaccurate compilation from the British Cyclopædias, 53.

## E.

East India Company's monopoly, evils of, 240.

Ebsambul, notice of colossal remains at, 453—456.

Egypt, the parent country of monachism, 60.

Eloquence, superiority of, in the late parliament, 493, 494.

England, institutions of, imitated in France, during the revolution, 247—excellent sketch of its constitution, 263, 264.

Ensor (George), on Radical Reform, 102—causes of the unpopularity of his former works, *ib.* 103—his character of Jeremy Bentham's writings, 103, 104—observations on his view of the defects of our constitution, 104—an advocate for annual parliaments, 105—and radical reform, 106—his abuse of the character of King George III. 107.

Etymologicon Magnum, critical notice of, 307, 308.

Evremond (M.), observations of, on monasteries, 83, 84.

## F.

Female society, state of, in Greece, 172—202.

Fisher (R. B.), on the Importance of the Cape of Good Hope, as a colony, 203—character of this work, 206—208. See *Cape of Good Hope*.

Fosbrooke (T. D.), on British Monachism, 59—character of the work, 94.—See *Monachism*.

Fossilized remains of animals at Oreston, notice of, 52.

France, condition of, during the French revolution, 247—and since the re-establishment of the monarchy, 248—state of juries there, 256, 257—account of the legal divisions of property, there, 257—259—erroneous account of the treatment of the French prisoners, in England, 260—observations thereon, 261, 262.

Frederick Barbarossa (Emperor of Germany), legendary anecdotes of, 371—373.

## G.

Garinet (Jules), *Histoire de la Magie en France*, 349—character of his work, 350. General, remarks on the qualifications of, 383, 386.

George III. tribute to the memory of, 436. Ghor, valley of, described, 441.

Gnadenthal, Moravian settlement at, described, 229.

Goblin Demon, legendary account of, 358, 359.

Golownin (Captain), Narrative of his Captivity in Japan, 107—character of his work, 107, 108—voyage of to the Kurile Islands, 109, 110—hieroglyphic correspondence with the Japanese, 110—interview with the Governor of one of them, 112—unsuccessful attempt to escape with his companions, 112, 113—their sufferings on their journey to Chakodade, 113—115—curious reason assigned by the Japanese for their treatment of them, 115—arrival of Golownin and his companions, at Chakodade, 116—their treatment there, *ib.*—are marched off for Matsmai, 117—their treatment there, 118—is liberated, 128—melancholy death of one of his companions, *ib.* 129.

Gordon (Captain), notice of his visit to Japan, 119, *note*.

Gravity, observations on the influence of, 131, 132.

Graziers of the Cape of Good Hope, account of, 220—226.

Greece (ancient), notice of Essays on the institutions, government, and manners of the States of, 163—165—estimate of the character of the Athenians, 163—169—their love of the theatre, 169 and *note*.—construction of the Greek Drama, especially tragedy, 170, 171—character and situation of women of reputation, 172—174—lesson of Iscomachus to his wife, 175—178—prevalence of misogynism and misanthropism, 179, 180.—analysis of Aristophanes's *Lysistrata*, a comedy exposing the female reformers of Athens, 182—188—respect of the Athenians for the maternal character, 188—

- 188—strict laws for guarding the nuptial bed, 189—corruption of morals at Athens, under Pericles, 190, 191—character, manners, and situation of the *hetere* or female friends, 191—200—satirical verses on them, 200—202.
- Greek, modern mode of studying, considered, 311, 312—difficulty of compiling Lexicons to the Greek language, 311—notice of the principal Lexicons previous to the revival of literature, 306—310—and subsequent to that event, 312—313.
- Grenville (Rt. Hon. Lord) Speech of on the State of the Country, 492—occasion of it, 494—character of his eloquence, 498—observations of, on the Manchester meeting and the state of the country, 503—509—513—516—519—521—524, 525.
- Grimm (M.M.) *Deutsche Sagen*, notice of, 349, 350.
- Guarino of Favera, notice of the Greek Lexicon of, 312.
- H.
- Hackelberg, legend of the huntsman of, 369.
- Haro, a noble Spanish family, supposed demoniacal origin of, 362, 363.
- Harpocration's Lexicon to the Ten Orators, notice of, 306.
- Hazlitt (William), *Sketches of Public Characters*, 158—remarks on this author's temper, *ib.* 159—list of persons abused and praised by him, 160—his character of Dr. Paley, *ib.*—of the Duke of Wellington, *ib.*—of a Jacobin, 158—of a Tory, 160—of a Whig, 161—of Murat, *ib.* 162—of legitimacy, 162—vanity of Mr. Hazlitt, *ib.*—entomological character of him, *ib.* 163.
- Hela, the Scandinavian Deity of Death, 369, 370.
- Hellequin, legendary tale of, 370.
- Henry IV. (King of France) anecdote of, 370.
- Hesychius's Greek Lexicon, notice of, 308, 309.
- Hetere, or female friends at Athens, manners and condition of, described, 191—202.
- Hill (Dr.) *Essays on the Institutions, Government and Manners of the States of ancient Greece*, 163—character of the work, 164, 165.
- Himalaya Mountains, abstract of Captain Webb's observations on the height of, 416, 417—elevation of the Nitec Ghaut or Pass, 423.
- Hippocrates, notice of Lexicons to the works of, 307.
- Hohenlinden, battle of, 393—military observations on it, *ib.* 394.
- Hottentots, oppressions of, under the Dutch government, 221—their former state, 226, 227—description of the Moravian settlement among them, at Gnadenthal, 229.
- House of Commons, hours of business in, in Lord Clarendon's time, 104—strictures on a reform in, 526—530.
- Humboldt (Baron) sur l'Elevation des Montagnes de l'Inde, 415—remarks on his calculations, *ib.* 416.
- I.
- Icelanders, tutelary spirits of, 366, 367.
- Integrals (defined), benefit of, 139.
- Integration of equations, observations on, 134—136.
- Inundation in the Valais, ascribed to demons, 361.
- Iscomachus, nuptial lesson of, to his wife, 175—178.
- Italy, analysis of the campaign in, in 1799, 393—400.
- Jacobin, character of, 158.
- Japanese, unsuccessful attempts of the Russians to trade with, 108, 109—captivity of Captain Golownin and several Russians among them, 110—120—his liberation, 128—account of a Japanese lady, 123, 124—noble conduct of a Japanese captive, 125—128—interview of Captain Gordon with the Japanese, at Jeddo, 119, *note.*—general character of the Japanese, 129.
- Judges (English), observations on the power of, 251—their impressive manner of pronouncing sentence on criminals, *ib.* 252.
- Jupiter, inequalities of, calculated, 144.
- Juries, observations on the French system of, 257—259.
- Justice, outline of the act for preventing delay in the administration of, 551.
- K.
- Knight (Henry Gally) *Eastern Sketches in Verse*, 149—plan and execution of his poems, *ib.* 150—extract from his 'Ilderim,' with remarks, 151, 152—from his 'Phrosyne,' 152—154—from 'Alash-tar,' 155, 156—observations on some defects in these productions, 157, 158.
- Kurile Islands, notice of, 109.
- L.
- Lais, the Athenian courtesan, account of, 195, 196 and *note.*—verses on her downfall, 260.
- La Place's mode of investigating secular inequalities, analysis of, 140, 141.
- Latrobe (Rev. C. J.) *Journal of a Visit to South Africa*, 203—account of his visit to

- to the Moravian settlement at Gnaden-  
thal, 227, 228—delicate attentions of  
the Hottentots to him, 228, 229.
- Lawrence (Wm.) Lectures on Physiology,  
1—tracts in reply to him, *ib.*—attacks  
Mr. Hunter's and Mr. Abernethy's theory  
of life, 3—indebted for his crude notions  
to the French and German philosophers,  
4—censure of him by Mr. Abernethy,  
5—his angry reply, 5—7—notice of  
tracts in reply to him, 7, 8—remon-  
strance to him, on the dangerous ten-  
dency of his notions, 9, 10, 11—strictures  
on his ignorant abuse of the Scriptures,  
12—14—his curious definition of orga-  
nization, 16—strictures on it, 16, 17—  
refutation of his assertion that the  
material brain is the source of thought  
and of all the other faculties, 17—27—  
other objections to his system of mate-  
rialism, 25—31—remarks on the powers  
and capacities of the human mind, 31,  
32—blessing of revelation, 32—danger-  
ous tendency of Mr. L.'s principles on  
society, 33—his duty to the public  
stated, 34.
- Laxman (Lieut.) visit of, to Japan, 108.
- Leopard of the Cape of Good Hope, ac-  
count of, 237.
- Lexicons (early Greek), notice of, 306—  
315—distinction between Lexicons and  
Glossaries, 303, 306.
- Libels (blasphemous and seditious) of the  
Radicals, observations on, 542—550—  
analysis of the statutes for preventing  
abuses of the press, and for punishing  
blasphemous and seditious libels, 552—  
remarks on the wisdom and necessity of  
them, 552—557.
- Liberty of the people, proved to have in-  
creased since the Revolution in 1688,  
534—536.
- Life, theories of. See *Abernethy, Law-  
rence, Rennell.*
- Literature, preserved in monasteries, 77,  
78.
- London and its port, account of, 35—38.
- Lysias, Letter of, to the Prince Regent, 430.
- Influence of the morals of a court on  
those of the community, 430—432—  
purity of the British Court during the  
reign of King George III. 432, 433—  
extracts from the work, enforcing a con-  
tinuance of the same purity of morals,  
433—436—tribute to the memory of  
George III. 436.
- M.
- Macarius (St.), mortification of, 64.
- Magdeburg, bold attack of, by Major  
Schill, 488.
- Mamelouks, massacre of, in Nubia, 448.
- Manchester meeting, observations on, and  
on its consequences, by Lord Grenville,  
503—509. 513—516. 519—521—by  
Mr. Canning, 511—513. 516. 518. 521,  
522—and by Mr. Plunkett, 509—511.  
518, 519. 522—524.
- Materialism, dangerous tendency of, ex-  
posed, 9—11. 25—31. 33.
- Mines, demons of, 365—supposed in-  
stances of their malignity accounted for,  
*ib.* 366.
- Miracles, pretended, of the Romish Saints,  
82—84—particularly of Saint Francis of  
Assisi, 85—87—of St. Dominic, 87—  
and of St. Benedict, 67, 68.
- Mirage, appearance of, described, 465.
- Monachism, originated in Egypt, 60—ac-  
count of the first monk, Paul the Egyp-  
tian, *ib.* 61. extravagances of the early  
monks his successors, 62, 63. St. An-  
tony the Great, the first institutor of  
monasteries, 64—mortifications of the  
saints, Pior, Pachomius, and Macarius,  
*ib.*—account of Simeon Stylites, 65—  
progress of monachism in Italy and  
France, 66—anecdotes of Saint Bene-  
dict, 67—pretended miracles attributed  
to him by his historians, 67, 68—analysis  
of his 'rule,' 68—duties of the abbot,  
69—order for celebrating divine service,  
70—order of the monks, *ib.* 73—punish-  
ments for the refractory, 70—their  
meals, 71—apparel, 72—mode of admit-  
ting novices, 72, 73—election of the  
abbot, 73, 74—remarks on this rule, 74,  
75—its spread throughout Europe, 75—  
benefits resulting from monasteries, *ib.*  
76. 88—preservation of literature in  
them, 77, 78—account of St. Dominic  
the Cuirsassier, 79—81—contest among  
certain monks, relative to their place in  
Heaven, 82—St. Evremoud's opinion of  
monasteries, 83, 84—the fifth command-  
ment altered by St. Benedict, 101.
- Morals, corruption of, at Athens, under  
Pericles, 190, 191.
- Moravian settlement at Gnaden-  
thal, described, 229.
- Moreau (General), retreat of through Ger-  
many, 388—military observations on it  
388, 389, 390—defeats the Austrians at  
Hohenlinden, 391.
- Morgan, (Sir T. C.) Sketches on the Phi-  
losophy of Life, 1—character of his  
work, 8, 9.
- Mosaic account of the creation, vindicated,  
12—14.
- Muller, the historian, appointed one of  
Jerome Buonaparte's ministers of state,  
485—character of, *ib.* 486.
- Murat, character of, 161. 162.

Music

Music of the Ashantees, notice of, 291.

Mythology (popular) of the Middle Ages, notice of works on, 349, 350—observations on the difficulty of classifying the different systems of mythology, 351—353—the character of the legendary Satan, 353—legendary anecdotes of him, in the lives of the saints, 354, 355—357 enumeration of other demons by Heywood, 357—account of Puck, and the various names by which he is known on the Continent, 357, 358—etymology of his name, 359, 360—account of the demon Gubbe, or Goblin, 358, 359—and of the Scandinavian Nekker and the demons that derive their origin from him, 360—362—legends of demons current in Spain, 362, 363—of the Scandinavian elves, 363, 364—demons of the mines, 365—supposed instances of their malignity accounted for, *ib.* 366—tutelar spirits of the Icelanders, 366, 367—spirits of the fire, 367—Will with the wisp, 367, 368—variations in the mythology of Odin or Woden, 368, 369—Woden, known in Brunswick as the hunter of Hackellberg, 369—Hela the Scandinavian deity of death, 369, 370—legend of Hellequin, 370—legendary tale of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, 371—373—anecdote of a Cabalist, 374—the credulity of former times contrasted with the confidence of the present age, 376—378.

#### N.

Nicknames, prevalence of, at Athens, 199.

Niger (River), remarks on the supposed course of, 292, 293.

Nile of Soudan, not the Nile of Egypt, 476—481.

Nitee Ghaut or Pass, poisonous atmosphere of, 421—observations on the height of the pass, 423, 424—climate and productions of this region, 425—427.

Novices, form of admitting, into the Benedictine order, 72, 73.

Nubia, political divisions of, 459—revenues, *ib.*—pecuniary compensation for murder, 460—agriculture and produce, *ib.*—appearance of the Nubians, 461—climate of their country, *ib.*—travels in, See *Burckhardt*.

#### O.

Odin. See *Woden*.

Oreston, notice of fossil remains discovered there, 52—mode of excavating stone there for the Breakwater at Plymouth Sound, *ib.*

Organic remains, discovered in the Himalaya Mountains, notice of, 429, 430.

#### P.

Pachomius (St.), notice of, 64.

Paley (Dr.), abusive character of, 160.

Parents, the honouring of, enjoined by the fifth commandment, changed by St. Benedict, 101, and note.

Park (Mr. Mungo), death of confirmed, 293, 294.

Parliamentary eloquence, superiority of, in the present times, 493—observations on the mode of reporting parliamentary speeches, 494, 495.

Parliamentary Reform, strictures on, by Mr. Canning, 526—530.

Paul (St.) the Egyptian, the first monk, notice of, 60, 61—extravagancies of his successors, 62, 63.

Pausanias's Rhetoric Lexicon, notice of, 306.

Payntree (Village), notice of, 274, 275.

Payne (John Howard), Brutus, a tragedy, 402—remarks on his acknowledgments to preceding dramatists, 403—examination of his play, and strictures on its defects, 404—407.

Photius (Patriarch of Constantinople), notice of the lexicon of, 308.

Physical astronomy, progress of, 130, 131.

Pilgrimage to Mecca, preparation for, described, 413—character of the conductor of the caravan, 473, 474.

Pior (St.), mortification of, 64.

Planets, mode of computing the disturbances in the elliptical motions of, occasioned by another planet, 138—140.

Plunket (Rt. Hon. C.), Speech in the House of Commons, 492—occasion of it, 494—observations on the character of Mr. Plunket's oratory, 496—498.

Plymouth Sound, plan and description of the Breakwater at, 52—54.

Pollux (Julius), notice of the *Onymastich* of, 306.

Portsmouth Dockyard, notice of 48—account of the block machinery there, 48—50.

Press, pretended freedom of, in France, during the revolution, 247—outline of the act for preventing abuses in, 552—observations thereon, 552—557.

Prisoners (French), on the treatment of, while in England, 260—262.

Property, legal division of in France, 257—259.

Ptolemies, ancient inscription to, 456.

Public Affairs, publications on the state of, 492—state of them at the opening of parliament, 498, 499—account of the meeting at Manchester, 499, 500—observations on that meeting, 500—503—remarks on it by Lord Grenville, 503—509.

509. 513—516. 519—521—by Mr. Plunket, 509—511. 518, 519, 522—524—*and by Mr. Canning*, 511—513. 516—518—521, 522—*strictures by Mr. Canning on Parliamentary Reform*, 526—550—*measures adopted by parliament*, 531—*state of the law for preventing the holding of seditious meetings or assemblies, previously to the last session of parliament*, 531—533—*observations on the Declaration or Bill of Rights*, 533, 534—*actual increase of popular liberty since the Revolution in 1688*, 534—536—*analysis of the act of the last session of parliament for preventing the holding of seditious meetings*, 537—*elucidation of its principle*, 538—540—*analysis of the acts relative to military training and the seizure of arms*, 540, 541—*observations on them*, 541, 542—*instances of the deadly tendency of radical tenets*, 542, *et seq.*—*circumstances that led parliament to enact the statute 60 Geo. III., c. 8, 9, 543—550—outline of the statute 60 Geo. III., c. 4. for preventing delay in the administration of justice*, 551—*and of the statutes 60 Geo. III., c. 8, 9, against the abuses of the press, and for the prevention and punishment of blasphemous and seditious libels*, 552—*observations on them, and on the wisdom of all the measures adopted by parliament*, 552—557—*remarks on the recently detected and atrocious plot for assassinating his Majesty's ministers*, 557—560.
- Publications (New), select lists of*, 265, 561.
- Puck, the fairy, *legendary account of*, 537—360.
- R.
- Reform in parliament, *observations on*, 526—530.
- Rennell (Rev. Thomas), *Remarks on Scepticism*, 1—*excellent plan and execution of his work*, 7, 8—*his strictures on Mr. Lawrence's Theory of Organization and Life*, 16, 17, 18—*masterly refutation of materialism*, 27.
- Rennie (Mr.) *vindicated from the charge of imitating the French in constructing the Breakwater in Plymouth Sound*, 51, 52.
- Rhetoric Lexicons of the ancient Greeks, *notice of*, 306.
- Rikord (Captain), *seizes two Japanese*, 122, 123—*treatment of them on his arrival at Kamachatka*, 124, 125—*returns to Kunashier bay*, 125—*noble conduct of one of his prisoners, &c.*—126, 127—*procures the liberation of Captain Golownin and his companions*, 128.
- Rodenstein, *legend of*, 369.
- Roman catholics, *dangerous spirit of proselytism of*, 101, 109.
- Ross (G.) *Cape of Good Hope Calendar*, 203—*character of this work*, 209, 210.
- Rule of St. Benedict, *analysis of*, 69—73.
- Russians, *unsuccessful attempts of, to establish commercial relations with the Japanese*, 108, 109—*observations on the composition of a Russian army*, 398, 399.
- S.
- Satan, *legendary character of*, 353—*anecdotes of him*, 354—357.
- Saturn, *observations on the retardation of the motion of*, 142, 143.
- Scandinavian elves, *account of*, 363, 364—*and of the Scandinavian Nekker, and the demons deriving their origin from him*, 360—362.
- Scapula's Epitome of Stephens's Thesaurus, *critical notice of*, 316—318.
- Schill (Major), *account of his bold insurrection in Germany against the French*, 488, 489.
- Schrevelius's Greek and Latin Lexicon, *notice of*, 314, 315.
- Secular inequalities, *investigation of*, 140, 141.
- Seditious libels, *outline of the act for the punishment of*, 552—*necessity of that act shewn by a review of previous circumstances*, 542—551—*observations on it*, 552—557.
- Seditious meetings, *state of the law for preventing, previously to the last parliament*, 531—533—*outline of the late act for preventing the holding of such meetings*, 537—*elucidation of its principles, and vindication of its enactments*, 538—540.
- Seizure of arms, *analysis of the act for the*, 540—*observations on it*, 541, 542.
- Seppings (Sir Robert), *important improvements of, in naval architecture, vindicated from the charge of being of foreign invention*, 42—44, 45—*proofs of the benefit derived from them*, 45—*description of his contrivance for lifting ships*, 45—47—*his improvement in constructing the sterns of ships*, 47.
- Shakspeare, *success of, in his historical plays*, 404.
- Sheerness dock-yard, *notice of*, 40.
- Shiel (Richard) *Evadne, a tragedy*, 402—*indebted for his plot to Shirley*, 407—*analysis of the plot*, 407—409—*extracts from, and comparison of his play with that*

- that of Shirley, 409—414—concluding advice to Mr. Shiel, 414, 415.
- Sierra Leone, flourishing state of, 300, 301.
- Simpson (Thomas), discoveries of, in mathematical science, 131.
- Slavery, state of, in Egypt, 473.
- Slave Trade, remarks on the continuance of, on the African Coast, 295—297—horrid manner in which it is carried on, 298.
- Stephens (Henry), Biographical account of, 315—317—notice of Greek Lexicons prior to the appearance of his *Thesaurus Lingue Græcæ*, 304—315—observations on the execution of his *Thesaurus*, 318—320—superior advantage of its New Editors, over Stephens, 303—review of the new edition, 321—348.
- Stout (Capt. Benjamin) shipwrecked on the coast of Caffraria, 230—hospitably received by the natives, *ib.*—veracity of his statement, 246, *note*.
- Suidas's Greek Lexicon, critical notice of, 309, 310.
- Suwaroff, conduct of, in the campaign of Italy, in 1799, 395, 396—his masterly retreat through Switzerland, 397, 398—400—Laconic note of, to the Archduke Charles, 398—character of Suwaroff, 401.

T.

- Tales of the dead, notice of, 350.
- Tangential and centripetal forces, effects of, 137, 138.
- Theatre, passion of the Athenians for, 169, and *note*.
- Thiele (J. M.) Danske Folkesagn, notice of, 349, 350.
- Tory, character of, 160.
- Training to Arms, outline of the act for preventing, 540—observations on it, 541, 542.
- Trials, French and English, contrasted, 252—254.
- Triennial Parliaments, objections to, 529.

V.

- Valpy's (A. J.) Edition of Stephens's *Thesaurus Lingue Græcæ*, 332—advantage of the editor over the original author, 303—account of the Greek Lexicons, prior to Stephens's *Thesaurus*, 304—315—biographical sketch of Henry Stephens, 315, 316, 317—remarks on the execution of his *Thesaurus*, 318—320—instances of its defects, and suggestions for improving it, 321—325—diligence of Mr. Valpy and his coadjutors, 326—defects in their plan and execution, 327, 328, 332—331—346

- specimens of their bad taste, 335—339—Remarks on the editors' vindication of themselves against the observations of M. Hermann, 340, 341—instances of haste and mistake, 342—345—calculations as to the probable size and cost of the new edition of Stephens's *Thesaurus*, 329, 330—concluding strictures on its typographical execution, 347, 348.
- Vee-hours or graziers, of the Cape of Good Hope, account of, 220—their oppressions of the Hottentots under the Dutch government, 221—mode of living 222, 223—description of the interior of one of their hovels, 224, 225—character of a genuine Dutch cattle boor, 226.
- Victims (human) immolated at Ashantee, 288.
- Victualling department, at Deptford, excellent arrangement of, 39.
- Vine, culture of, at the Cape of Good Hope, 215—217.

W.

- Watt (Mr. James), eulogy on the character of, 56.
- Webb (Captain), abstract of the observations of, on the height of the Himalaya mountains, 416, 417—his arrival at the temple of Kedar-Nath, 418—legendary tale of the Bramins there, *ib.* 419—ascends the Nitee Ghaut or Pass, 420—poisonous influence of its atmosphere, 421—his unsuccessful attempt to open a traffic with the Tartars, 422—observations on the height of the pass, 423, 424—vegetable productions and climate of these elevated regions, 425—427—cause of the increased heat on the elevated plain of Tartary, 427, 428—organic remains discovered by Captain Webb, 429.
- Wellington (Duke of), abusive character of, 160.
- Westphalia (kingdom of), its origin, 482—extent, *ib.*—regency, *ib.*—Jerome Buonaparte appointed king, 483—anecdotes of his court, favourites and government, 484—487—character of the Westphalian army, 489—dissolution of the Westphalian monarchy, 492.
- Wet-Docks of London, account of, 36—38.
- Whig, character of, 161.
- Will with the Wisp, account of, 367, 368.
- Wilson (John), the Emigrant's Guide to the Cape of Good Hope, 203—character of this work, 211—See *Cape of Good Hope*.

Wines



# INDEX.

Wines of the Cape of Good Hope, account of, 217—their peculiar flavour accounted for, *ib.* 218.

Woden or Odin, variations in the mythology of, 368, 369—Woden known in Brunswick as the hunter of Hackelberg, 369.

Women, character and present situation of, in England, 90—92—plan of an intended college for them, 94, 95—notice of Mrs. Astell's scheme for such an establishment, 95—account of the establishment formed at Bath under the patronage of the late Queen, 96—99—present state of this Ladies' Association,

100—character and situation of women of reputation in ancient Greece, 172—178—respect of the Athenians for the maternal character, 188—character, manners, and situation of the betsmen or female friends, 191—200—satirical verses on them, 200, 202—state of women among the Ashantees, 287.

Woodhouse (Robert), *Elementary Treatise on Physical Astronomy*, 129—excellent plan of his work, 130—advantage of applying the mathematics to physics, 132, 133—analysis of the treatise, with remarks, 133—148—recommencement of it to students, 148, 149.

END OF VOL. TWENTY-SECOND.

